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The Master's Merry: Slave Prosecutions and Punishments in York County, Virginia, 1700 to 1780

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THE MASTERS' MERCY
SLAVE PROSECUTIONS AND PUNISHMENTS IN YORK COUNTY, VIRGINIA
1700 to 1780

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of American Studies
The College of William and Mary in Virginia


In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Anne R. Willis
1995

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

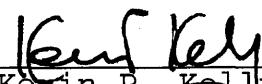


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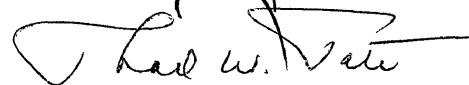
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Robert Gross



Kevin P. Kelly



Thad W. Tate

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ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken to see what could be learned about the county court's practice of justice for accused slave felons in York County, Virginia from 1700 to 1780. It was hoped that the study would reveal both how the gentlemen justices conducted the trials and how they treated those slaves that they found innocent or guilty and how those trials impacted on the lives of slaves themselves.

The oyer and terminer court records from the York County Court Records Project of The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation were used for this analysis. York County was chosen as the focus of this study because the boundaries of the county included the densely settled urban areas of the port of Yorktown and the capital city of Williamsburg as well as a long settled rural plantations.

The gentlemen justices of each county were empowered by the laws of slavery to try all accused slave felons within their jurisdiction in a trial without a jury where they determined guilt and set the punishment for those slaves convicted. The justices adhered strictly to the procedures determined by the law, but practiced their own discretionary justice with only a single challenge to their authority by Governor Francis Fauquier.

The slave crime in York County increased at a greater rate than the growth of the African-American population. Male slaves far outnumbered females in slaves prosecuted. The rate of violent crime prosecuted did not increase, but the rate of property crime accelerated significantly after 1740. The gentlemen justices responded by ordering more convicted slaves to hang. All punishment for convicted slaves was physical and violent unlike most of the crime allegedly committed by slaves.

There was only a single prosecution of two slaves for suspected slave rebellion and insurrection and they were both acquitted. The slaveholding regime in York County was secure and not threatened by their slaves during the period under study. The determinations of the justices undoubtedly helped provide that security.

The contradiction of slavery which defined slaves both by law and practice as property and as a human beings held responsible for their antisocial behavior pervades the practice of "justice" for both masters and slaves creating unresolvable tensions that shaped the lives of all free and enslaved persons who lived in the communities of York County.

THE MASTERS' MERCY
PROSECUTING AND PUNISHING SLAVES IN YORK COUNTY, VIRGINIA
1700 to 1780

INTRODUCTION

At the courthouse in Yorktown, Virginia, on May 28, 1763, Cuffy, a Negro man held in slavery by the Reverend James Fox of Gloucester County, was tried for the attempted murder through poisoning of ten members of the Walter Lenox family of Williamsburg. Six gentlemen justices of the York County Court, under Governor Francis Faquier's commission of oyer and terminer, heard and decided Cuffy's case. Identified as chattel property, Cuffy was also described in the court proceedings as "a person of wicked mind and disposition" and was accused of "wickedly and maliciously intending to murder and destroy the sd. Walter Lenox and his family."¹ Testimony was heard from sundry witnesses and, although apparently none of the persons died, Cuffy was found guilty by the justices and sentenced to hang on June 17, 1763. His value was set at £ 60, and the parson Fox was compensated for his lost property by the General Assembly.

The court proceedings of Cuffy's trial demonstrate dramatically the legal, moral, and social problems inherent in Virginia's slave society. As a person of African

¹ York County Court Records Project, York County Court Order Book (The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia) JO (3) 504-05.

descent, Cuffy, or his ancestors before him, had been removed forcibly from his own culture, transported to Virginia where he was an outsider "nationally alienated" from the society that had enslaved him.²

We know that the Reverend James Fox was empowered by the laws of slavery to compel Cuffy to obey his will and surrender his independence, but Cuffy, not the Reverend James Fox, was held responsible by the court for his own crime. *Slaveholders in Virginia, through the law, tried to have it both ways by defining slaves as chattel property and holding them responsible for their criminal behavior.* Cuffy's legal status in the colony as an "outsider" and totally subject to his master's will conditioned the justice Cuffy received. In addition the nature of slavery itself compromised the law and its practice.

This study is based on the surviving records of York County's oyer and terminer courts which were ad hoc bodies summoned into being whenever the regular courts were not in session.³ *By 1692 separate systems of justice were

²See Orlando Patterson, Slavery and Social Death; A Comparative Study (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1982) 35-76.

³Black's Law Dictionary defines "oyer and terminer" as "a half French phrase applied in England to assizes, which are so called from the commission of oyer and terminer directed to the judges, empowering them to 'inquire, hear, and determine' all treasons, felonies, and misdemeanors. This commission is now issued regularly, but was formerly used only on particular occasions, as upon sudden outrage or insurrections in any place." J. Baker, in An Introduction to English Legal History notes that "powerful commissions of oyer and terminer were first issued in 1305 to deal with the armed gangsters known as trailbastons."

established in Virginia for free and enslaved persons^{*} By law the Virginia Assembly empowered the justices of county courts with a writ from the royal governor, to prosecute all slaves accused of committing a felony immediately after the slave's capture to make a public example of the slave's crime and his punishment.

My essay is an analysis of the contradiction inherent in all slaveholding societies where the conflicting interests of the master class demanded that slaves be considered both property to be bought and sold and human beings to be held accountable for their antisocial acts. To illustrate how this contradiction played out in York County, Virginia, I will examine the power relations and tensions that embroiled both the gentlemen justices and accused slave felons as they faced each other in courts of oyer and terminer. These contradictions shaped the pattern of justice dispensed to accused slave felons in York County from 1700 to 1780.

I have organized this thesis into three chapters to provide the proper context for understanding the slave

^{*} ⁴ For free Virginians the court of each county meeting as an examining court heard the evidence presented against the accused and issued the possible indictments. Those who were indicted were then tried as free born Englishmen at the General Court in Williamsburg by the Governor and his Council in a jury trial. Later in the eighteenth century oyer and terminer courts were established for the General Assembly in order to try accused free white felons in two extra court sessions which were held in the summer and winter to accommodate the colony's growing criminal court docket.

trials in York County. The first chapter explores the connections between the colony's establishment of a tobacco economy, the development of Virginia's slave law, and the cultural landscape of the county and its demographic growth. The second chapter, through an examination of the court cases themselves, will focus on the masters' use of the law and its execution to maintain order in their communities and to make their slave system secure. The third chapter will analyze the nature of prosecuted slave crime and the punishments given to convicted slave felons and assess the implications of slaves' antisocial behavior and the consequence of white justice on their lives.

CHAPTER I.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SLAVERY IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA:
THE LAW, YORK COUNTY, THE PEOPLE

With slavery . . . the end is the
profit of the master, his security
and public safety; the subject, one
doomed in his own person, and his
posterity, to live without knowledge,
and without the capacity to make
anything his own, and to toil
that another may reap his fruits.¹

Virginia's Tobacco Economy and the Establishment of Slavery

From the settlement of Jamestown in 1607 until about 1700 Virginia had been marked by a devastating death rate, tragic and often bloody Indian relations, and ruthless pursuit of economic gain. After John Rolfe's successful experiment with tobacco production and the development of markets in Europe, profit-seeking Virginians brutally exploited land and labor. Land needed for tobacco fields was seized from the Indians. As tobacco planters aggressively pursued profits, the need for labor in the

¹ Judge Thomas Ruffin in 1829 as cited in Orlando Patterson, Slavery and Social Death; A Comparative Study (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1982) 3-4.

labor intensive cultivation of tobacco became acute and the treatment of servants often abusive. The tremendous demand for field hands drove Virginians from the failed practice of enslaving Native Americans and oppressing English indentured servants for labor to the practice of importing Africans for slavery.

Virginia established a slave system in a hesitant and reactive fashion. The first settlers did not foresee economic dependence on African slave labor.* Thus, laws created to establish and maintain slavery in Virginia were developed slowly from 1640 until 1705. Distinctions between freedom and bondage were often blurred for early Virginians because servitude in one form or another was endemic in the colony from its beginning.*

* Men of property who prospered from the tobacco economy dominated the parish vestries and the county courts. The wealthiest among them gained power by election to the House of Burgesses or appointment to the Governor's Council and held other lucrative offices which gave them greater access to more land and labor. These men created the laws that governed Virginia and established the colony's slave system.* As Billings, Selby, and Tate observe in Colonial Virginia; A History, "The laws they wrote, the supporting legal institutions they constructed, the very society they helped create--each of these reflects their effort to gain wealth

and to maintain dominion over those whom they governed."²

Initially the English settlers hoped to use the Indians as their source of labor, but attempts to enslave them failed miserably. The Indians not only died in great numbers from European diseases, but they knew the territory and could easily run away.*To supply the great demand for labor in the tobacco fields Virginia planters imported English indentured servants in great numbers until 1775.*

Unlike servant practices in England, indentured servants could also be bought and sold from one master to another in Virginia without the servant's consent. The status of those freeborn Englishmen during the four to seven years of their indentures was often compromised as masters exerted great control over their lives and often treated them harshly. Under Virginia law servants could not marry and indentures were often extended by the courts for misbehavior, such as running away or bearing a bastard child.

The establishment of statutory slavery in Virginia developed from 1662 to 1705 as the supply of white servants declined and the demand for labor intensified. The major challenge for members of Virginia's Assembly was to determine*who should be enslaved in Virginia and then to establish how those slaves could be controlled.* After 1660

²Warren Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, Colonial Virginia, A History (White Plains, New York, 1986) 76.

the supply of English indentured servants lessened intensifying the demand for African slave labor.*At that time the Assembly, finding the common law insufficient for establishing slavery, turned to Roman law and enacted a comprehensive system of legislation that virtually enslaved all newly imported Africans and their descendants for their lifetimes.* During the period between 1680 and 1700, when the number of Africans in Virginia grew rapidly and the demand for slaves was great,*racism was deliberately written into the laws of slavery*compounding the slave's condition and uniting all white men.*By 1700 Virginia had become a slave society.*

Defining Slavery in Virginia

*From 1640 to 1662 customary law and some legislation clearly established the beginnings of Virginia's slave society, making service for life the common condition for all newly imported Africans. England, unlike Spain and Portugal, had not practiced plantation slavery before the 1630s when the sugar planters in the British West Indies turned to African slaves for labor. By this time the mechanisms, both for plantation slavery and the West African

³English common law and the particular laws pertaining to property had no provisions for establishing institutionalized slavery.

slave trade, had been well established in other New World colonies.*When the English colonies in the New World shifted to slave labor later, they used existing systems.* In 1619 twenty-odd Africans arrived in the colony; by 1648 there were 300 Africans in Virginia forming a small minority of the 14,300 colonists in 1653.

During this period the overwhelming concerns of Virginians were survival, controlling the Indian threat, seating tobacco plantations, and regulating indentured servants.*The Assembly passed laws to enslave individual Indians, but there was little mention of Africans.**In January 1640 the Grand Assembly legislated that "All persons except negroes . . . be provided with arms and ammunition,"⁴ effectively disarming all blacks.* Two years later a law was passed declaring that "all negroes imported whether male or female"⁵ were to be counted as tithables, making conditions very different for white and black Virginians.⁶*

In 1662 there were over 25,000 settlers in Virginia,

⁴William Waller Hening, The Statutes at Large: Collection of all the Laws of Virginia (Richmond, Virginia, 1820) Vol. I., January 1639-40, Act X., 226.

⁵Hening, Vol. I., 1658, Act XLVI., 454.

⁶In general, tithables were all taxable persons within a Virginia Parish. After 1642 tithables were all men black and white over sixteen years of age and all black females over sixteen. White women were never taxed giving them a different status as non laborers. The taxes were used to support the needs of the parish.

the great majority of whom had come to the colony as indentured servants; Africans numbered well under 2,000 until 1670. As the supply of indentured servants waned, large planters slowly turned to the example of the sugar planters in the Caribbean. African slaves became wiser, but risky long-term investments. Men of property could not successfully exert lifetime control over either Native Americans or freeborn Englishmen. But Africans were different. To the English they were heathens and uncivilized as well as racially inferior, making them available for total exploitation. But when life spans were short, a slave's early death could financially cripple a planter.

After 1660 the Virginia Assembly defined slavery by following much the same pattern as the other European powers for their colonies in the New World.*In 1661 the House of Burgesses established the major distinction for black and white servants when it ruled that a white servant running away from his master with a negro, "who is incapable of making satisfaction by addition of time,"⁷ would have his term of service doubled.*The Assembly assumed that many Africans were already enslaved by customary law and serving life terms in Virginia.

Slavery became defined by race as an hereditary condition and persons who were identified as slaves were

⁷Hening, Vol. II. March 1660-1, Act XXII., 26.

stripped of all their autonomy and independence. Inter-racial sexual relations were now severely penalized to protect the clear identification of slaves--the presence of mulattos would blur distinctions.*In December of 1662 the Virginia Assembly declared that "all children borne in this country, shall be held bond or free only according to the condition (free or slave) of the mother."⁸*To clarify slave status the law established that "if any christian shall commit fornication with a negro man or woman he or she soe offending shall pay double the fines . . ."⁹ *

The law defined slaves as property to be bought and sold, but Christianity posed a challenge to that definition since a baptized person had to be recognized as possessing a soul. Thus, it was convenient to identify slaves both as Negroes and heathens for their total exploitation. The Anglican Church, as well the philosophical justification for colonization, however, argued for converting "heathens" to Christianity. The Virginia Assembly in 1667 established "that the conferring of baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom;"

⁸Hening, Vol. II., December 1662, Act XII., 170.

⁹Hening, p. 170. As early as September 17, 1630, a white man Hugh Davis was "to be soundly whipped, before an assembly of Negroes and others for abusing himself to the dishonor of God and shame of Christians, by defiling his body in lying with a negro; which fault he is to acknowledge next Sabbath day." See Hening, Vol. I., 146 "From the Minutes of the Judicial Proceedings of the Governor and Council of Virginia."

therefore masters could increase "the propagation of christianity" by baptizing their slaves.¹⁰ This legislation compounded the contradiction of a slave being both property and human.

In 1669 the Assembly passed the law which declared that a previous law for the punishment of "refractory servants" was not sufficient for slaves. It ruled that ~~*~~if any slave resist his master (or other by his masters order correcting him) and by the extremity of the correction should chance to die, that his death shall not be accompted a felony but the master (or that person appointed by the master to punish him) be acquit from molestation" because no man would willfully destroy his own estate.¹¹ ~~*~~ To further enable masters to define and control their slaves, the Assembly in 1672 legislated that "any negro, mulatto, Indian slave, or servant for life run away" was to "be persued by warrant or hue and crye." This legislation made it "lawful for any person who shall endeavor to take them, upon the resistance . . . to kill or wound him or them soe resisting . . ."¹² Now not only the master, but all white men could destroy outlawed slaves without due process of law.

Within just seven years the Virginia Assembly had not only defined Africans as hereditary chattel property and

¹⁰Hening, Vol. II., September 1667, Act III., 260.

¹¹Hening, Vol. II., October 1669, Act I., 270.

¹²Hening, Vol. II., September 1672, Act VIII., 299.

then encouraged masters to Christianize those they had enslaved, but it had established extraordinary protection under the law for masters to control slave behavior.

Controlling Slaves in Virginia

The population of Virginia before 1680 grew only from the heavy importation of English indentured servants. Governor Berkeley, in correspondence with the Crown shortly after Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, stated that "not above two or three ships of negroes in seven years"¹³ had arrived in the colony. The character of Virginia changed radically after Bacon's Rebellion when land west to the fall line of Virginia's rivers became safe for settlement and the demand for imported African slave labor increased. There were 3,000 Africans in Virginia by 1680, but by 1700 there were 16,930 Africans who made up 22% of the total population. Planters purchased many more African slaves during the next twenty years later bringing the percentage of Africans to 22% of the total population of 62,800 in 1700. Fifty percent of all imported Africans died within a year of their arrival in Virginia from the trauma of the Middle Passage and the adjustment to Virginia's disease environment and slave system. The labor force in Virginia, however, had now

¹³Hening, Vol. II., Governor Berkeley's Correspondence, 515.

shifted from the use of white servants to reliance on black slaves; by 1700 more than half the men and women in the tobacco fields were Africans. Life in Virginia became more stable for free white men who owned land and labor while Africans were exploited further under the laws of slavery and racism that were developed after 1680. Earlier legislation had largely defined slave status, but from 1680 to 1700 legislation focused on how the master class should control those they had enslaved.

Difference in race now became critical. Edmund Morgan, argues that after Bacon's Rebellion the ruling class of wealthy planters in Virginia deliberately wrote racism into the law, driving "a wedge of contempt"¹⁴ between the two races. The rise of black slavery and the deliberate insertion of racism into the law informed all white non-slaveholders that they were in alliance with the master class as free white men.

The Virginia Assembly, fearful of congregations of Negro slaves they could not control, passed a law in June of 1680 that tightened the control over all Africans in the colony by forbidding Negroes or slaves to carry weapons and requiring them to have a certificate when absent from their master's plantation. The law also stated that if any "negro or other slave shall presume to lift his hand in opposition

¹⁴Edmund Morgan, American Slavery American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York, 1975)

against any christian, [he] shall for every such offense . . . receive thirty lashes on his bare back well laid on,"¹⁵ a proviso that protected white Christians from any possible aggression of Africans free and enslaved. The law also established that if "any negroes were lying out and doing mischief"¹⁶ and refused to be apprehended, they could be killed legally. This statute reinforced the 1672 law singling out race, making the distinction between being free or slave as important as being white or black.

Two years later, in November of 1682, the Virginia Assembly demonstrated its desire to increase control over "negroes" (free and slave) by passing "An additional act for the better preventing Insurrections by Negroes."¹⁷ The law directed all church wardens to see that the act of June 1680 should be read twice a year to the congregation after the second lesson in the time of divine services. Seeking to control the movements and whereabouts of all Negroes and to fix them in a particular place, the law established that slaves could not remain on plantations other than their master's for more than four hours.

In April of 1691 another act for "the suppressing of outlying slaves" was passed in reaction to Africans, free or slave, who "lie hid and lurk in obscure places killing hogs

¹⁵Hening, Vol. II, 481.

¹⁶Hening, 481.

¹⁷Hening, Vol. II., November 1682, Act III., 492.

and committing other injuries." The act made it legal, after two county justices had issued warrants, for sheriffs "to raise a force to kill and destroy those negroes, mulattos, and other slave runaways who refused to be apprehended."¹⁸ The master was to be reimbursed by the General Assembly for his loss.

The lawmakers declared intermarriage and inter-racial sexual relations to be illegal "for the prevention of the abominable and spurious issue which hereafter may encrease in the dominion," again attempting to clarify the differentiation of any "English or white man or woman" from Negroes, mulattos, or Indians free or slave. Any such person who should intermarry would be banished from the colony forever. A white woman bearing a bastard child of a Negro or mulatto would be fined £ 15 and bound out for five years, while the child of that union would be bound out by the county court for the first thirty years of his life. The focus of this law was race.

The legislation condemning inter-racial sexual relations and miscegenation treated negroes as social outcasts; as Orlando Patterson would argue slaves, were natally alienated and dishonored.¹⁹ This law also made it illegal for slaveowners to free their own slaves unless they transported them out of the country within six months time.

¹⁸Hening, Vol. III., April 1691, Act XVI., 86.

¹⁹Patterson, 35-76.

The legislation was designed to prevent white Virginians from experiencing the "great inconveniences" caused by freed slaves who they suspected would be "entertaining negro slaves, receiving stolen goods, or growing old and becoming a burden to the country."²⁰ The master's fears of freed slaves mingling with slaves and other Negroes and stirring up trouble dominated the behavior of the Assembly; above all they wanted to protect the economic utility of their slaves and the security of the slave system.

The laws enacted gave white Virginians absolute authority over all African slaves and to a lesser extent free Africans by clearly separating whites from blacks racially and by denying them all personal rights under the law. The power of the slave laws also reinforced the unity of all white men with their racial prejudice against black Africans.

After the development of legislation defining slaves and making it possible for masters to control them, the General Assembly constructed a separate legal system for the prosecution of accused slave felons. In 1692 oyer and terminer courts were established for prosecuting all accused slave felons. The law called for a "more speedy prosecution of slaves committing Capital Crimes," arguing that it was "absolutely necessarie" to make other slaves "affrighted to

²⁰Hening, Vol. III., April 1691, Act XVI., 87.

commit the like crimes and offenses . . ."²¹ Trials of slaves would then serve to remind them not only of their race and status as slaves, but the consequences of their behavior as judged by the county courts.

The new procedures for prosecuting slaves accused of committing capital crimes (defined as crimes that would be punished by death or "loss of member") empowered the county sheriff to commit the slave to the county gaol "well laden with irons" while the county sheriff notified the royal governor who would then issue a commission of oyer and terminer which compelled at least four of the eight to twenty-four county justices to conduct the trial.²² The justices were then "required and commanded publicly at the courthouse" to prosecute the slave by taking "for evidence the confession of the part or the oaths of two witnesses or of one with pregnant circumstances" for testimony. The verdict of innocence or guilt was to be determined by the gentlemen justices "without the sollemnite of jury." After the verdict was reached, the justices were empowered to pass judgment "as the law of England provides in the like case, and on such judgment to award execution."²³

Thus, unlike white Virginians, slaves were denied a jury trial of their peers since peerage, by definition

²¹Hening, Vol. III., April 1692, Act III., 402-403.

²²Hening, Vol. III., April 1692, Act III., 402-403.

²³Hening, Vol. III., April 1692, Act III, 402-403.

presumed a legal and social status denied slaves. In addition, slaves were tried by judges from the lower courts and could not post their own bail nor could they ask for a new trial, appeal a conviction, or request a writ of habeas corpus. In 1705 a law was passed encouraging masters of slaves to expose slave crime by ensuring masters that they would be reimbursed for their investment by the General Assembly if their slave should be sentenced to hang for his crime.

The contradictory definition of a slave as both the master's property and a human being capable of exercising free will underlies this legislation. The law that established the procedures for oyer and terminer courts in 1692 held the slave accountable for his own antisocial acts and tried him as a human being in a court of justice. There was no resolution of the contradiction as the courts by law and practice were forced to define slaves as property, both real and personal, for the sake of "trade," but at the same time to recognize them as human beings with the capacity to act independently from their master's will. This contradiction created fear and tension among those who were free and enslaved in communities like York County.

The Setting: York County, Virginia

To understand how this contradiction was manifested in the prosecution and punishment of slaves in York County, Virginia from 1700 to 1780, it is essential to examine the developing cultural landscape of the county where slaves and masters lived and worked together in its very different urban and rural settings. The developing settlement patterns and the changing demographics of the county with the distinct shift in the racial balance of its population over time are crucial considerations for the analysis of the 115 prosecutions of slave crime which allegedly took place there.

York County, by the eighteenth century with its 123 square miles, was laid out along the southern shore of the York River on Virginia's Middle Peninsula where scattered plantations had marked the largely rural landscape of the county from the first half of the seventeenth century.²⁴ The important urban centers of Williamsburg, made the capital of the colony in 1699, and Yorktown, an important Virginia port since the early eighteenth century, occupied only very small portions of the county. Footpaths and roads connected individual plantations to each other and to the

²⁴See Appendix A. Map of York County, Virginia. Contributed by Kevin Kelly of Colonial Williamsburg's Research Department, Williamsburg, Virginia.

county's stores, mills, taverns, and ferry landings. They also led to the burgeoning towns of Williamsburg and Yorktown while other roads led east and west to the lower peninsula and to Richmond and the Piedmont and beyond. Ferries linked York County across the York River with Gloucester County to the north and beyond James City County across the James River with Isle of Wight County to the south.

Plantations of 200 to 250 acres with their marshlands, woods, and fields of tobacco and corn dominated the countryside. A simple wooden house of riven clapboards or logs with a cluster of farm buildings nearby housed the planter's family and the few slaves who worked his fields.²⁵ Larger plantations of 500 to 1,000 acres, often located on the river or larger creeks, had more fields under cultivation and holdings of ten to twenty slaves or more. The domestic slaves lived near the master's house while field hands lived in quarters near the fields they worked.²⁶ Rural plantation slaves lived with small groups of slaves and worked under the direct supervision of their masters or overseers which provided for tight control.

²⁵ See Appendix B. A Middling Planter's Plantation contributed by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

²⁶ See Appendix C. Landscape Plan of the Reconstructed Slave Quarters at Carter's Grove Plantation Contributed by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Uniquely, York County was most unusual for colonial Virginia as it incorporated two important Virginia towns, half of the capital city of Williamsburg and all of the port town of Yorktown.²⁷ From northwest to southeast along the York River the county was divided into three parishes; Bruton, Yorkhampton, and Charles. A parish constituted a distinct religious, social, and political community with its own parish church. All people, free and enslaved, living within the county were governed by their parish vestrymen and the gentlemen justices of the York County Court.

Approximately one-half the capital city of Williamsburg, with its port and tobacco warehouse on Queen's Creek, were within the boundaries of York County's Bruton Parish. The other portion of the city was in James City County. The capital city was established in 1699 and its population grew gradually until it reached an estimated population of 885 persons in 1747/8.²⁸ Most of the growth in the urban area of Williamsburg occurred during the third quarter of the century when the population more than doubled. The city in 1775 had 1,880 inhabitants packed into

²⁷Virginia in 1770, with its some 450,000 inhabitants (58 percent white and 42 percent black), was largely rural with approximately 98 percent of all Virginians living in the countryside supporting themselves by the production of agricultural commodities.

²⁸ The Smallpox List of February 1747/8 and the York County Records listed 97 households (the average household size was 8.6 people which included the head of the household, his family, servants and slaves) and 41 individuals who lived at the College of William and Mary.

one-half square mile of York County and James City County land which created a density of about 3,760 persons per square mile.²⁹ Yorktown in Yorkhampton Parish was smaller than Williamsburg with an estimated population of some 500 to 1,000 residents at the time of the Revolution. In area, Yorktown contained about 100 acres. The rural areas of the county had an average density of 20 persons per square mile.³⁰

Virginia's public buildings--the capitol and govt, and the Governor's Palace, as well as Bruton Parish Church, were all located in that portion of Williamsburg that was a part of York County. In addition to the impressive public buildings, stores, taverns, and a market supplied travellers and residents with needed goods and services. Williamsburg was the political and cultural center of Virginia. The colony's political leaders, merchants, and great planters came from across Virginia to Williamsburg twice a year for

²⁹Appendix D. The Frenchman's Map, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

³⁰By comparison the port of Norfolk before the Revolution had a population that numbered from 3,000 to 5,000 inhabitants while other urban areas in Virginia such as Petersburg, Richmond, Fredricksburg, and Alexandria, which grew rapidly after 1775, were much smaller. England's industrial cities of Birmingham, Leeds, or Manchester had populations of about 30,000 while London itself had three-quarters of a million persons in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The colonial capitals and port cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were the only cities that numbered over 10,000 persons in America with Philadelphia having a population of about 20,000 in 1760. Charleston, South Carolina had a population of about 5,000 while Annapolis, Maryland had approximately 1,300 persons.

Public Times when the General Court met and the Meeting of Merchants was held. When the House of Burgesses was called into session, they could meet at the same time as the General Court. The densely settled county's section of the city also included a number of the fine houses of wealthy Virginians. Slaves lived on the margins of their masters' town property--in kitchens, laundries, and stables. Their crude shelters stood in sharp contrast to their master's fine houses. Along the road to the ports on Queen's Creek and College Landing, smaller dwellings housed less affluent whites--journeymen and day laborers--and, perhaps a few free blacks.

In 1770 there were about 200 heads of household living in Williamsburg with the average household containing ten members. Williamsburg's slaves worked for their masters in the trades and service sectors, and many were skilled artisans, carters, laborers, and domestics.³¹ They provided much of the labor which was needed to support the bustling city--the trade shops, stores, and taverns as well as the public buildings and homes of wealthy and powerful Virginians.

Surrounding Williamsburg were the rural areas of Bruton Parish. There and in the upper precinct of Yorkhampton Parish the high ground was fertile and the prized sweet

³¹ Thad Tate. The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Virginia, 1965) 33-45.

scented tobacco could be grown profitably. Masters in Williamsburg and prosperous planters in the countryside of Bruton Parish owned more slaves than did slaveholders in either Yorkhampton or Charles parishes.

The lower precinct of Yorkhampton wrapped around the port of Yorktown on the York River which had been developed largely by the Nelson family who had been merchants there since the early eighteenth century. It had served as Virginia's principal slave port until the trade shifted to the James River in the 1750's. Yorktown, however, continued to function as a commercial port through the Revolution with its busy wharves, stores, and warehouses along the riverfront. Homes of prosperous merchants, with slaves living in their outbuildings, were located on the hill above the river. Yorktown was also the political and religious center for York County with its courthouse, gaol, and parish church.

Charles Parish, southeast of Yorkhampton Parish along the peninsula was a rural parish with its church located in the middle of the parish near Halfway Ordinary and Roe's Tobacco Warehouse. Ravines and salt water marshes isolated properties and made travel difficult. The agricultural base was mixed with smaller holdings of slaves and livestock.

Population Growth and Racial Balance in York County

The first federal census listed York County as having a population of 5,253 persons in 1790. Of those 5,253 persons there were 2,115 whites, 358 free blacks,³² and 2,760 slaves.³³ Kevin P. Kelly uses existing tithable and militia lists to construct estimates of York County's population growth. He estimates that in 1700 33% to 36% of the population was black; in 1726 42% was black, and by 1750 blacks made up the majority of the population.³⁴ He suggests from his studies that 75% of the York County tithables were black by 1775.³⁵

³² The number of free blacks would have been smaller in the colonial period before the Manumission Law of 1782 was passed by the Virginia Assembly.

³³ Kevin P. Kelly. "The People of York County in the Eighteenth Century." (Williamsburg, Virginia, n.d.) 13.

³⁴Kelly, 15.

³⁵Kelly, 13.

Table 1:
Population Sizes in York County, Virginia; (1701-1776)

Year	Estimated Total Population Size ³⁶	Estimated Total White Population	Estimated Total Black Population
1701	2,736	1,738	998
1703	3,019	2,042	977
1708	3,305	2,125	1,180
1726	4,101	2,304	1,797
1750	4,690	2,090	2,600
1755	5,178	2,138	3,040
1775	5,689	2,162 ³⁷	3,527 ³⁸
1776	4,467	1,603	2,864

³⁶ Population sizes are estimated by Kevin Kelly, in his unpublished work "The People of York County in the Eighteenth Century." In addition Kelly calculated that the county's population grew at an average rate of 1% per year from 1701-1775, but that the rate declined over time. Of that growth he estimates that the black population increased at an average of 1.6% per year while the white population increased on the average of .28% per year.

³⁷ These population sizes were calculated assuming that blacks comprised 62% of the total population.. Blacks comprised 58.7% of the total in 1755 and 64.1% in 1776.

³⁸ See Footnote 34.

Table 2:
Estimated Population Sizes for York County³⁹

Between 1726 and 1750 there was a definite shift in the racial balance in York County as the white population remained relatively stable and the black population increased steadily. Kelly argues that the numbers of blacks increased both from slave purchases, especially prior to 1740 before the West African slave trade slowed, and from natural increases within the already well established African-American population. The growth of the white population slowed in the middle decades of the eighteenth

³⁹These estimates are based on Kevin Kelly's estimated population figures in "The People of York County in the Eighteenth Century."

century as land became scarce in York County and white men and their families sometimes with slaves migrated west in the middle decades of the century seeking greater economic opportunities in the newly opened lands.

York County had a higher proportion of blacks (33% - 36%) in 1700 than most other counties in Virginia. Planters originally purchased their slaves from Africa singly or in pairs and added them to their small holdings of acculturated or outlandish slaves on plantations scattered widely across the county.⁴⁰ Under those conditions in the early years, it would have been very difficult for many slaves to establish families and supportive networks with other blacks. Alan Kulikoff argues that the black population in the settled areas of the colonial Chesapeake stabilized between 1720 and 1740 and African Americans began to reproduce themselves naturally with the number of births exceeding the number of deaths.⁴¹ Lorena Walsh, however, finds that during the period from 1700 to 1725 some slaves

⁴⁰David Brion Davis, in Slavery in the Colonial Chesapeake, states that "in 1733 it appears that in one region of the Virginia Tidewater only 30 percent of adult slaves lived in units with one or two slaves." David Brion Davis, Slavery in the Colonial Chesapeake (Williamsburg, Virginia, 1986) 18.

⁴¹See Alan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves; The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1986) 335-345.

in the county were native born.⁴² By 1740, as the natural increase of the slave population in Virginia began to meet the ever-growing demand for more labor, the slave trade slackened. Fewer Africans were imported, making a growing proportion of slaves native born. The acculturation of slaves made it possible for them to understand the inner workings of their enslaving society and to develop their own family and community connections within the county. Extensive social and cultural networks for African-Americans, free and enslaved, resulted. In the urban areas of developing Williamsburg and Yorktown the urban concentration of blacks would have led to even closer and more supportive connections among slaves than in the rural areas of the county.

During the colonial period the largest concentrations of blacks in the colony were in Norfolk and Williamsburg. The urban areas of Williamsburg and Yorktown grew from a few inhabitants at the beginning of the eighteenth century to over two thousand at the time of the Revolution. Kelly estimates that in 1775 there were 694 tithables listed for Williamsburg and Yorktown, which would have accounted for 28% of York County's tithable population.⁴³ By 1775 the

⁴²See Lorena Walsh, "From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Tidewater Virginia African-American Slave Community" (The Colonial Williamsburg Research Department, Williamsburg, Virginia, n.d.).

⁴³Kelly, (Williamsburg, Virginia) 10.

population of Williamsburg more than doubled with a population of 1,880 persons with 52 percent of that population being black.⁴⁴ The census of 1775 listed 517 black females and 469 black males perhaps reflecting the demand for female domestic slaves in the capital city.⁴⁵

A close community of some 965 slaves and about thirteen identified free blacks⁴⁶ was established in the city before the Revolution providing protection and support for themselves and for slaves from other parts of the colony. The town's black community, free and enslaved, would have also harbored an occasional runaway.⁴⁷ Unlike the rural areas of York County, where slaves were isolated and could more easily be kept under control, towns allowed slaves to escape their master's tight supervision.

York County had highly particular urban characteristics within colonial Virginia's rural plantation slave economy. The geography and demography of York County had direct

⁴⁴Female African-Americans outnumbered males in this Williamsburg census, perhaps because they were more skilled in domestic service than men.

⁴⁵Michael Nicholls, in his unpublished work "Aspects of the African-American Experience in Williamsburg and Norfolk" (The Colonial Williamsburg Research Department, Williamsburg, Virginia, n.d.) 9 reports that Norfolk's black tithable in 1774 were evenly divided between male and female.

⁴⁶Thad Tate, The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Virginia, 1965) 26-32.

⁴⁷The Virginia Gazette, 27 November 1769. Matthew Ashby was suggested as harboring a runaway slave seeking his freedom in the capitol city.

consequences for masters and slaves. Williamsburg, and to a lesser extent Yorktown, was a small urban area which showed some of the same patterns of other larger cities with its concentration of wealth and the presence of a densely settled largely enslaved community. It was a wealthy commercial center with its stores, warehouses, and underground markets concentrated in a half square mile with a population of nearly 1,000 African Americans who were largely enslaved persons.

Easy access to that wealth offered opportunities to slaves for criminal activity and made whites more vulnerable to crimes against their property. This thesis offers a view of urban slavery through the examination of the pattern of prosecution and punishment of the 154 accused slave felons tried at courthouse in Yorktown.

CHAPTER II.

THE GENTLEMEN JUSTICES AND SLAVE CRIME

THE OYER AND TERMINER TRIALS IN YORK COUNTY, VIRGINIA 1700-1780

Remember particularly that you cannot be a judge of anyone. For no one can judge a criminal until he recognizes that he is just such a criminal as the man standing before him, and that he perhaps is, more than all men, to blame for that crime. When he understands that, he will be able to judge.

Fyodor Dostoyevsky, The Brothers Karamazov¹

The Efficient Enforcement of the Law

When the Virginia Assembly first established York County in 1634, the royal governor appointed the first gentlemen justices to the county court. The justices were given the legislative, executive, and judicial responsibilities for governing the county. After those first appointments, however, the court of twelve to twenty four members became a self-perpetuating body as the justices recommended like-minded men from leading and interconnected county families whom they respected and trusted to the

¹Fyodor Dostoyesky, The Brothers Karamazov (Melbourne, London, and Toronto, 1912) 334.

governor for appointment. There were no formal requirements for a justice of the peace. In Virginia they were probably all literate, and some, especially in the eighteenth century, were well educated. A few were trained in the law, but, as in England, it was not considered important or even desirable for a justice to have passed the bar.² It was that "local social superiority, and not any professional legal expertise" that "gave the justices the extraordinary discretionary authority they exercised. . . . They relied on their collective memory and on their own untrained but ritualized sense of justice."³ The courts were therefore relatively independent institutions where the gentlemen justices governed all free and enslaved persons in a paternalistic fashion.

Most of the gentlemen justices in Virginia counties served simultaneously on their county court and parish vestry. Often two members of the county court were elected to the House of Burgesses, but they continued to serve as justices and vestrymen.⁴ Therefore the political power of the county rested with these men, and they were expected to

² A. G. Roeber, Faithful Magistrates and Republican Lawyers: Creators of Virginia Legal Culture, 1690-1810 (Chapel Hill, 1981) 32-72.

³ Gordon S. Wood, The Radicalism of the American Revolution (New York, 1991) 71.

⁴A member of the Governor's Council, however, could not stand for election for the House of Burgesses or serve as a justice in his county.

protect the interests of all white men who held property in land and slaves.

The county court met in Yorktown, usually monthly, when the gentlemen justices and freeholders gathered to settle civil disputes, to try free men and women accused of committing misdemeanors, and to administer county business. The gentlemen justices were also called together at the courthouse whenever a slave was accused of committing a felony in the county and needed to be prosecuted.

In response to the royal governor's writ of oyer and terminer,⁵ the gentlemen justices of each county court were empowered to interpret the laws and judge the behavior and criminal actions of all accused slave felons. The system of slave law, the courts, and the slaveholders were all in place in York County by 1700, and any perceived threat or challenge to Virginia's slaveholding society carried powerful consequences for slaves who deviated from the established norm. Powerful examples were made of all slaves found guilty through public punishments of whippings and hangings.

Gentlemen Justices Dudley Digges, Robert Shield, Jr., Jacquelin Ambler, and Augustine Moore assembled at the courthouse in Yorktown on January 23, 1770, to preside over

⁵ Until 1765, when Governor Faquier issued blanket commissions of oyer and terminer for each Virginia county, which made it possible for more speedy trials, all Virginia county sheriffs had to request a separate writ for every trial from the royal governor in Williamsburg.

the trial of Issac and David who were accused of setting fire to their master and mistress's dwelling house in Williamsburg.⁶ Of the four presiding justices Robert Shield, Jr. and Dudley Digges had taken part in a majority of the slave trials held during the preceding twelve years, while Augustine Moore was newly appointed to the bench.⁷

The trial of Isaac and David would have been particularly crucial to the justices and their fellow slaveholders since Isaac and David were accused of committing arson by burning their masters' own house in the city of Williamsburg. Not only did the fire threaten the lives and property of their master and mistress, James and Catherine Hubard, but it could have endangered the safety of the city. All slaveholders feared arson particularly because it was almost impossible to guard against, and it endangered their own lives and property.

In the courtroom on January 23, 1770, with the royal coat of arms prominently displayed, the four justices swore the prescribed oaths of loyalty to the Crown and "Subscribed the Test," disavowing allegiance to the Catholic Church, and took their places on the high bench. The court was then

⁶The trial was held just fourteen days after the alleged crime was committed on January 9, 1770.

⁷ Robert Shields, Jr. had served as an oyer and terminer court judge 32 times over the past 23 years, Dudley Digges 31 times since March 7, 1751, and Jacquelin Ambler six times since February 12, 1768, while Augustine Moore was serving for the first time.

legally constituted and the justices were empowered to conduct the trial.

The slaves Isaac and David, bound in shackles, were brought from the county gaol to the courthouse and led to the bar by Thomas Chisman, sheriff of the county.⁸ Benjamin Waller, "Attorney for our Lord the King in this county," and Thomas Everard, the clerk of the York County Court, took their places in the courtroom. James Hubbard, a victim in the case, as well as the master of the slave David and the husband of Catherine Hubbard who owned the slave Isaac, was present. Any white or black witnesses summoned to testify were assembled in the court while curious and interested members of the community were present to witness the drama of the court proceedings.

As the trial began, Benjamin Waller informed the court that "Isaac a Negro Man Slave belonging to the said Catherine Hubbard of the City of Williamsburg not having the fear of God before his Eyes but being moved and seduced by the Instigation of the Devil . . . with force and arms . . . feloniously willfully and of his own Malace aforethought did set on fire and burn" the dwelling house of James and Catherine Hubbard on January 9, 1770. Mr. Waller also informed the justices that David, "a Negro Man Slave

⁸ In colonial Virginia counties the gentlemen justices selected one of their justices to serve a one year term as sheriff. The commission was often renewable for succeeding years.

belonging to the said James Hubbard . . . with force and arms feloniously did comfort aid abet assist Counsel hire and command the said Issac feloniously to set on fire and burn the said House." After being arraigned Isaac and David both pleaded not guilty to the charge.

The justices then examined the evidence and the "divers witnesses were sworn and examined."⁹ After a short deliberation, without the recommendations of a jury, the four gentlemen justices declared that Isaac was guilty of arson. It was "demanded of the said Isaac if he had anything to say why the Court should not proceed to pronounce Sentence of death against him. Upon the Consideration aforesaid he said he had nothing but what he had before said Whereupon it [was] considered by the Court that the said Issac be hanged by the Neck until he be dead." Thomas Chisman, the sheriff, was then directed to arrange for the execution of Issac on February 2, 1770, ten days after his trial. Issac's value was set at £ 70 so that his mistress, Catherine Hubbard, could be reimbursed for her lost property by Virginia's General Assembly.¹⁰

⁹ The court records after 1750 usually do not name the witnesses, include any depositions or describe the evidence or testimony presented to the court in oyer and terminer cases during the period under study. In the 1740's there is a fuller description of the witnesses who testified.

¹⁰ There is no indication from the records of how long the court proceedings for oyer and terminer trials took, but judging from the docket of cases heard by the gentlemen justices on court day, when perhaps as many as 35 or more misdemeanors and civil cases were heard and decided, the time was probably short.

David was found not guilty of the felony of complicity in the case, and he was "acquitted and discharged," but, at the same time, the court responded to James Hubbard's concern that his slave David was "a dangerous person," and committed David to the county gaol for an unspecified period of time until James Hubbard and one of the justices agreed it was safe to release him.¹¹

The prosecution of Isaac and David by the gentlemen justices, like the other oyer and terminer trials held in York County, adhered to the procedures established by the laws of Virginia. The justices tried Isaac and David with dispatch by having the charges read, the witnesses questioned and examined, and the accused questioned before they confidently reached verdicts of innocence or guilt and prescribed the punishment for the convicted slave Issac.

In this particular case the crime was committed on January 9, 1770, the accused slaves were tried on January 23, 1770, and Isaac was executed on February 2, 1770 just 24 days after the date the crime was committed.¹² This was the first case of arson to be tried in York County since 1728, and slaveholders would have been anxious about the verdicts the justices reached and the punishments given to

¹¹ York County Court Record Project, York County Court Order Book (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia) January 23, 1770, JO (1768-1770) 419.

¹²A time period of ten days between the trial and the execution date was given so that the governor could review the court proceedings and decide whether a pardon should be granted.

the convicted. Not only could the self-assured justices regard their proceedings as efficient, but as impartial. After weighing the evidence the justices reached different verdicts for each slave; Issac was convicted while David was acquitted. In addition the justices had responded to the fear Mr. Hubbard had of the slave David and imprisoned him even though they had found him innocent of the charge against him.

The pattern for the swift and efficient enforcement of the law had been established in 1692 and had been practiced by the gentlemen justices with few alterations in the law during the eighteenth century. The Virginia Assembly in 1722 established that a quorum of four justices were required to preside over all oyer and terminer courts and to vote for the condemnation of a slave. In 1732, 1748, and 1765 the law was modified significantly to address the changing interests and concerns of masters.

Composition of the Courts and the Practice of Justice

From the first recorded trial in York County of Bridgett, the slave of Mr. John Page, who was convicted of arson in 1704, the justices developed distinct procedures in response to the law of 1692 establishing oyer and terminer

courts for slave felons.¹³ For the more than 115 trials held from 1704 to 1780, some 78 justices participated in trying accused slave felons in York County; only twelve justices served fifteen times or more.¹⁴

Among the twelve justices who served as an oyer and terminer court justice at least fifteen times was Peyton Randolph. Born about 1721 into the powerful Randolph family of Virginia, he was educated at the College of William and Mary and studied law at Middle Temple in London. He began his life as a public servant in 1744 when he was appointed Attorney General for the colony of Virginia. From 1748 until his death in 1775 he held the positions of vestryman of Bruton Parish, justice of the peace for the York County Court, member of the House of Burgesses, and rector of the Board of Visitors for the College of William and Mary. In 1766 he was elected Speaker of the House of Burgesses where he served until his death, and in 1774 and 1775 he was elected President of the First and Second Continental Congresses. He continued to serve as an oyer and terminer justice in York County throughout his political life. He was the consummate politician who was governed by his strong belief in preserving law and order. As Rhys Isaacs

¹³ The records of court cases from 1730 to 1745 and after 1770 are less detailed than those between 1745 and 1770.

¹⁴ See Appendix E and F.

Note: Again the numbers would have been greater for some justices because of the missing court records from 1754-1759.

describes Randolph, he had the "capacity to dominate politics in the paternalistic mode."¹⁵

The six gentlemen who served as justices for more than 25 oyer and terminer cases possessed the credentials required for political leadership in the Colonial Chesapeake by free men of property: membership in long-established and respected families and financial independence with their ownership of land, slaves, and businesses.¹⁶ The number of different magistrates who served as oyer and terminer court justices were:

Table 3:
Oyer and Terminer Court Justices: 1700 - 1780

Dates:	No. of Justices:	No. of Trials:
1700-1729:	17 Justices	4 Trials
1730-1739:	21 Justices	16 Trials
1740-1749:	17 Justices	16 Trials
1750-1754 and 1759:	13 Justices	18 Trials
1760-1769:	23 Justices	34 Trials
1770-1780:	25 Justices	27 Trials

In the fifties and sixties, when slave prosecutions increased significantly, the number of justices serving did not increase proportionately even though they had a pool of

¹⁵ Rhys Isaacs, The Transformation of Virginia; 1740 - 1790 (Williamsburg, Virginia, 1982) 226.

¹⁶See Appendix E and T.

twelve to twenty justices to draw from at any given time.

It is apparent that through the 1750's and 1760's there was a nucleus of particular justices who presided over nearly every oyer and terminer trial. From 1750 to 1754 John Goodwin, John Norton, Robert Shield, Jr., and Dudley Digges served together for thirteen of the fourteen trials held.¹⁷ Three of the four justices were present for all of the trials except for three when only two were in court. The 1760's followed much the same pattern with John Norton, Dudley Digges, David Jameson, and Thomas Nelson, Jr. dominating the high bench with only a few additional justices introduced for individual cases. In the 1770s Augustine Moore, David Jameson, Dudley Digges, and Thomas Nelson, Jr. served consistently.¹⁸

Even though much of the crime was committed in and around Williamsburg justices from Bruton Parish did not often serve as oyer and terminer court justices. The seven men who served so consistently from 1750 to 1780 were all Yorktown merchants who were able to assemble quickly for a slave trial at the Yorktown courthouse.¹⁹ These men, however, had to have the support of other justices and masters in the county for the decisions they made on the

¹⁷ On January 20, 1752 Benjamin Waller, the attorney general for the county, presided alone over a case of hog stealing.

¹⁸See Appendix E and G.

¹⁹See Appendix T.

high bench. They set the pattern of justice for accused slave felons and in so doing shaped the relationship between slaves and their masters and the community during those critical years.

The Absence of Violent Challenges to White Authority

From 1700 to 1780 the slave masters in York County experienced no real violent challenge to their authority making their slaveholding regime secure. During the period slaves were convicted of only seven violent crimes (one was committed against a fellow slave) and there were no convictions for that most feared crime within all slave societies--slave insurrection or rebellion.²⁰

During the eighty-year period in York County, only two slaves, in a single case, were accused of instigating a slave rebellion and insurrection. On April 4, 1753, Harry, the slave of John Goodwin, Jr. of York County, and Tom, the slave of Peter Goodwin of York County were brought to the courthouse to face a charge that, "with force and arms . . . [they] feloniously did consult, advise, and conspire to rebel and make an insurrection and did also plot and conspire the murder of divers of His Majesty's good and

²⁰See Appendix K.

faithful subjects in the parish and county."²¹ Both men pleaded not guilty. After "sundry witnesses were sworn and examined" Harry and Tom were found not guilty by the justices and discharged.

It is impossible to measure the magnitude of the fear slaveholders had of slave rebellions and insurrections in York County from 1700 to 1780 from the available evidence. The justices did not convict Harry and Tom and there was no effort to make a public example of them or their crime. The powerful slave laws of the early 1680's had been on the books for over 70 years before a single case of suspected slave rebellion or insurrection was brought to trial in York County. The often described unrest of the Revolutionary period in Virginia, with the increased general fear among whites of a slave revolt, did not result in a single prosecution of a slave accused of taking part in a rebellion or insurrection. There is no indication from the other cases brought to trial that there was a fear of slave unrest, but the powerful laws of the 1680's were on the books if they were ever needed by the gentlemen justices.²² As Eugene Genovese argues, "The slaveholders did

²¹York County Court Order Book, April 4, 1753, JO (2) 204-205.

²² The York County court records do not indicate any real increase in court prosecutions around the time Harry and Tom were tried for insurrection and rebellion; there was, however a trial for theft on the same day January 31, 1753, but another oyer and terminer trial was not held until nine months later on September 18, 1753. See Appendix K.

not intend to enforce their severe legislation strictly and considered it a device to be reserved for periods of disquiet and especially for periods of rumored insurrectionary plots."²³

Violent crimes such as arson, rape, and murder also did not occur with frequency during this period in York County. From 1700 to 1780 there were three cases of arson (1704, 1728, and 1770), one case of suspected poisoning and murder (1763), two case of rape (1752 and 1773), and two cases of murder (1730 and 1773).²⁴

In all three cases of arson, the accused slaves were found guilty and hanged. The first two cases in 1704 and 1728 involved slave women while the third case did not occur until 42 years later when Issac and David were accused of arson. All three cases of arson were directed against the slave's own master or mistress perhaps endangering their lives and destroying their property.²⁵ Arson is a powerful weapon of revenge for the powerless, but it was not committed with any great frequency in York County.

The first case of attempted rape was not tried until

²³ Eugene Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, The World the Slaves Made (New York, 1972) 40.

²⁴See Appendix K.

²⁵Philip J. Schwarz argues that arson was particularly effective and that "More and more slaves realized in the mid-eighteenth century that . . . [arson] . . . was a powerful way to deprive whites of their property and their economic well being at the same time." See Philip S. Schwarz, Twice Condemned (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1986) 114-115.

1752 when the court records state that Jemmy, the slave of Thomas Reynolds of Yorktown, "feloniously and burglariously did break and enter with an intention to commit a rape upon one Lucy Hansford spinster."²⁶ He was found guilty and was hanged. Jemmy apparently did not actually rape her, but his intention was sufficient to convict and hang him.²⁷ The other case of alleged rape was tried on January 18, 1773, when Sam, the slave of William Eggleston, was charged with "suspicion of a Rape committed on the body of Molly a Mulatto Woman Child under the age of ten Years the property of George Pitt."²⁸ Sam was found not guilty and discharged. There was no legal protection of slave women against rape by white or black men.²⁹ This case probably came before the court because Molly was a young child.

The single case of suspected poisoning and murder in 1763 resulted in a conviction of the slave Cuffy who was

²⁶York County Court Order Book, June 4, 1752, JO (2) 36-37.

²⁷Ulrich Bonnell Phillips in American Negro Slavery, p. 548 claims that he found 105 cases of rape that were committed in Virginia from 1780-1864.

²⁸ York County Court Order Book, January 18, 1773, JO-3 (1772-1774) 210.

²⁹ Eugene Genovese in Roll Jordan Roll argues that "Rape meant, by definition, rape of white women, for no such crime as rape of black women existed at law. Even when a black man sexually attacked a black woman he could only be punished by his master; no way existed to bring him to trial or to convict him if so brought." Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Gordon, Roll, The World the Slaves Made (New York, 1972) 33.

then hanged.³⁰ The first murder case to come before the court involved Will, the slave of Col. Lawrence Smith, who was convicted and hanged in 1730 for assaulting and murdering Peg, another negro slave belonging to Col. Lawrence Smith. Over 43 years later in June of 1773 Fanny, slave of Richard Charlton, was tried for the murder of John Donaldson, a white man, but her charge was reduced to manslaughter, she was sentenced to be hanged, and the court in an unprecedented action in York County pled for mercy when the case was to be reviewed by the royal governor.³¹

From 1700 to 1780 the slaveholders in York County in the countryside as well as in Yorktown and more than half of the city of Williamsburg had not been threatened by any actual cases of slave insurrection or rebellion and not a single slave was convicted of the murder of a white man or woman. Only one white person had actually died, and the circumstances of that case prompted the justices to plead for mercy for the slave convicted of manslaughter. With the possible exception of the three cases of arson, two of which occurred before 1730, and the one case of attempted poisoning and murder in 1763, the slaveholder's authority in York County was not challenged by slaves committing violence

³⁰ In the York County Records the activities of Walter Lenox are recorded through the year 1775--he and his wife had two more children and he regularly advertised his wigmakig business in the Virginia Gazette.

³¹ It is possible that Fanny was pardoned as a "Fanny" was listed in the inventory of Richard Charlton's estate in 1780.

against those who held them in bondage.

The gentlemen justices could regard their judgements of slaves as providing a deterrent for any widespread violence against their slaveholding regime in York County. The practice of slavery in York County was secure under their authority and masters had no need to fear for their lives or the destruction of their social order.

Prosecution of Slave Felons; 1750 to 1780

To understand the character and significance of slave crime from the gentlemen justices's perspective from 1700 to 1780 it is important to examine: 1.) the real increase in the number of oyer and terminer trials held during the period adjusted to the growth of the slave population in York County; 2.) the changing nature of crimes prosecuted; and 3.) the shifting strategies in the practice of justice by the court in dealing with the challenges of slave crime.

The Court prosecuted 154 slaves charged with committing 115 felonies from 1700 to 1780.³² Of the 154 slaves prosecuted eighteen slaves were tried twice for different

³² The total number of trials (115) and arrested slaves (154) would have been considerably larger if the court records for 1754-1759 had survived, especially since the preceding and succeeding years had heavy slave prosecution figures. See Appendix H and I.

crimes and four were tried three different times.³³

Table 4:

York County Oyer and Terminer Slave Trials: 1700 - 1780

Dates:	Trials:	Slaves:	Males:	Females:
1700-1729:	4	4	2	2
1730-1734:	8	9	7	2
1735-1739:	8	10	10	0
1740-1744:	9	11	8	3
1745-1749:	7	12	12	0
1750-1754:	14	22	20	2
1759: ³⁴	4	5	5	0
1760-1764:	16	19	19	0
1765-1769:	18	29	28	1
1770-1774:	16	20	18	2
1775-1780:	11	13	13	0
Totals:	115	154 ³⁵	141	13

³³See Appendix J.

³⁴ Unfortunately, the records for the decade of 1750-1760 are incomplete; surviving records from January 1, 1750 to January 21, 1754 indicate that there were 14 trials for 22 slaves and from February 15, 1759 to December 31, 1759 there were four trials for five slaves.

³⁵ The number of slaves equals all arrests made and is not adjusted to slaves accused of committing more than one crime.

Table 5:
Annual Prosecution Rates per 1,000 Slaves in York County;
1700-1774

Time Period	Number of Slaves Accused	Ave. # Accused Per Year	Approx.# Adult Slaves Per Year (date) ³⁷	Annual Crime Rate ³⁶ per 1,000 Adult Slaves
1700-1729	4	0.13	1,148 (1726)	0.12
1730-1749	42	2.1	1,498 (1750)	1.40
1750-1774	95 ³⁸	4.52	1,869 (1775) ³⁹	2.42

³⁶More precisely, the annual rate of adult slaves accused of crimes.

³⁷ Population size estimates were selected because they were the estimates which were chosen to the final date of the time period. Since the black population was growing throughout these time periods, the presented population estimates are probably larger than the average number of adult slaves per year. These population sizes therefore probably underestimate the actual annual crime rates.

³⁸There are no records of trials from 1755-1758, so this number does not include slaves accused during that period.

³⁹Population sizes estimate obtained from Table 1, assuming that adult slaves comprised 53% of the black population.

Table 6:Adult Slaves Crime Rates in York County; 1700-1780⁴⁰

An analysis of the number of felonies tried at the Yorktown courthouse adjusted to the growth of the slave population in York County indicates a significant increase of the prosecutions of slaves over time. From the 1700 to 1729 period through the 1730 to 1749 period the prosecution rate increased from 0.12 to 1.40 per 1,000 adult slaves. During the following period of 1750 to 1774 the annual prosecution rate increased from 1.40 to 2.42 per 1,000 adult slaves. The growth of the prosecution rate from 1700 to 1729 to the 25 years preceding the American Revolution was dramatic.

⁴⁰See Table 5.

The number of cases prosecuted in York County from 1705 to 1780, however, is not an accurate representation of the character or extent of the slave crime committed. Not all crimes committed in the county were prosecuted and some that were may not have been actual crimes committed. During periods of social unrest prosecutions could have been more numerous than the actual crime rate, distorting the perceptions of actual slave crime.⁴¹ Felonies committed by the master's own slaves on his property were not always brought to trial. There were only three cases of violent crime brought to court where slaves were accused of committing a violent crime against another slave, one case of murder, one case of rape, and one case of mutilation against another slave⁴² (only in the case of murder was the slave convicted).⁴³

To determine the true significance of this increase in the prosecution rate, it is essential to examine the character of the crimes brought to trial over time.⁴⁴

⁴¹See Philip Schwarz, Twice Condemned; Slaves and the Criminal Laws of Virginia, 1705-1865 (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1988).

⁴²The one case of mutilation involved a slave who was accused and acquitted of gouging the eye of another slave.

⁴³See Appendix K.

⁴⁴See Appendix H and K. A number of cases do not have the crimes clearly defined and they have been classified as "Crime Not Identified."

Table 7:
Prosecutions of Slave Crime in York County: 1700-1780

Time Period	Crime	Nature of Crime • (Violent, Property, Neither)	Number of Slaves Accused
1700-1729	Arson	Violent	2
	Theft	Property	2
1730-1739	Assault	Neither	1
	Breaking/Entering	Property	1
	Murder	Violent	1
	Theft	Property	9
	Not Identified	Neither	5
1740-1749	Theft	Property	16
1750-1759 ⁴⁵	Prison Escape	Prison Escape	1
	Insurrection	Insurrection	1
	Rape	Violent	1
	Not Identified	Neither	1
	Theft	Property	14
1760-1769	Breaking/Entering	Property	1
	Prison Escape	Prison Escape	1
	Poison and Murder	Violent	1
	Theft	Property	31
1770-1780	Arson	Violent	1
	Prison Escape	Prison Escape	1
	Not Identified	Neither	2
	Murder	Violent	1
	Mutilation	Mutilation	1
	Rape	Violent	1
	Theft	Property	18

Taking the three time periods of 1700 to 1729, 1730 to

⁴⁵The records are missing from 1754 to 1759, so this count does not include trials which occurred during that period.

1749, and 1750 to 1780 the annual crime rate for violent and property crimes per 1,000 adult slaves can be determined to measure the actual occurrence of slave prosecutions from 1700 to 1780.

Table 8:
Annual Rates for Violent and Property Crimes per 1,000 Adult Slaves in York County from 1700 to 1780

Time Period	Approx. # Adult Slaves Per Year (date) ⁴⁶	Nature of Crime	Number of Slaves Accused	Annual Crime Rate Per 1,000 Adult Slaves
1700-1729	1,148 (1726)	Violent	2	0.058
		Property	2	0.058
		Neither	0	0.0
1730-1749	1,498 (1750)	Violent	1	0.022
		Property	26	0.868
		Neither	6	0.200
1750-1780 ⁴⁷	1,869 (1775)	Violent	5	0.107
		Property	64	1.370
		Neither	8	0.171

⁴⁶Population size estimates were selected because they were the estimates which were closest to the final date of the time period. Since the black population was growing throughout these time periods, the presented population estimates are probably larger than the average number of adult slaves per year. These population sizes therefore probably underestimate the annual crime rates.

⁴⁷The records are missing from 1754 to 1759, so this count does not include trials which occurred during that period.

Table 9:
Annual Rates for Violent and Property Crimes in York
County⁴⁸

The annual rates for violent crimes in York County clearly demonstrate that from 1700 to 1729 there was double the number of violent crimes prosecuted than during the later period of 1730 to 1749 while the 1750 to 1774 period showed a doubling of the 1700 to 1729 rate. Violent crime rates remained relatively steady increasing from only 0.058 to 0.107 from the early period to 1750 to 1780. Crimes against property, however, increased dramatically over time. From the 1730 to 1749 period property crimes increased

⁴⁸See Table 8.

sixteen times from the earliest period. During the last period of 1750 to 1780 the property crimes had increased 26 times over the earliest period of 1700 to 1729. The vast majority of prosecutions therefore were alleged crimes against members of the free white population which involved breaking and entering and the theft of their personal property. Unlike the threat of violent crime which was not very significant, the threat of property crime was very real for the white communities of Williamsburg, Yorktown, and the rural areas of York County.⁴⁹

Table 10:
Places Crimes Were Committed in York County

Bruton Parish:		42
City of Williamsburg:	30	
Bruton Parish:	12	
Yorkhampton Parish:		33
Yorktown:	11	
Yorkhampton Parish:	22	
Charles Parish:		6
York County (Parish Not Known):		34
*Total Number of Crimes		115

Of the 115 crimes committed in York County 41 were listed as being committed in Williamsburg and Yorktown in addition to 34 listed as occurring in either Bruton and

⁴⁹See Appendix L.

Yorkhampton Parishes some of which undoubtedly took place in the urban areas of Williamsburg or Yorktown. The number listed for Williamsburg and Bruton Parish would not include those crimes committed on the James City County side of Williamsburg thereby greatly increasing the number committed in the city. Another 34 crimes were identified as taking place somewhere in the county; a significant number of which must have also been committed in Williamsburg or Yorktown.

The shifting strategies of the gentlemen justices in reaction to the accelerating rate of slave crime against property can be examined through an analysis of the public punishments given to convicted slave felons after 1750. Public hangings dramatically reflected the gentlemen justices' attitudes towards the persons and crimes they considered most threatening to the safety and security of their slaveholding community.

Forty-four slaves were sentenced to hang for their crimes from 1700 to 1780; seven slaves were convicted of committing violent crimes and sentenced to hang while the remaining 37 slaves had all been convicted of breaking and entering and burglary. From 1750 to 1770 the number of slaves convicted and sentenced to hang for property crimes increased significantly even with the adjustment for the growth of the slave population over time. For the first fifty years from 1700 to 1750 the York County records indicate that eight slaves had been sentenced to be

executed; three were convicted of violent crimes while five were convicted of breaking and entering and burglary. For the thirty year period from 1750 to 1780 (which does not include trials held from 1754 to 1759 since the records are missing) 36 slaves had been sentenced to hang; five were convicted of violent crimes and 31 were convicted of breaking and entering and burglary.⁵⁰ For the first fifty years three-fifths of the condemned slaves had committed violent crimes as compared with approximately one-sixth of the slaves during the last thirty years from 1750 to 1780. The increase in the number of slaves sentenced to be executed and the proportional decrease in violent crime adjusted to the growth of the slave population in York County suggests that as crimes against property increased after 1750, the gentlemen justices turned to the death penalty with much greater frequency for lesser crimes of breaking and entering and burglary in an effort to purge their communities of threatening convicted slave felons and to establish a strong deterrent for such subsequent behavior among slaves.

The Assurance of the Slaveholder's Regime

As agents of slave law and protectors of peace and

⁵⁰ See Appendix K and M.

order in the county, the oyer and terminer court justices were concerned with any perceived increase in slave crime and alert to any contributing factors or conditions which might have encouraged slave criminal activity. The first line of defense in preventing slave crime was to have masters tightly control the movements and activities of their own slaves. Considering that the population of York County was about 5,000 the justices knew the settled masters and slaves living within the county at least by reputation. As county justices they knew well which slaves had been in trouble before and which masters were ill, absent, or too lenient. Slaves who were rented out or those slaves who passed through the county without their masters would have been especially threatening.⁵¹ For example, the slaves of Mr. James Shield of Bruton Parish would have been watched closely: his slaves were involved in five different trials with three of his slaves appearing in court for two different offences

The Tithable List of 1758 for Yorkhampton Parish, identifying residents and their tithable populations, can be used to give an indication of the incidence of slave crime by size of holdings for that period of time:⁵² The fifteen

⁵¹See Appendix K.

⁵² Tithables would include the white male head of household and all white males over 16 who were living in his household. In addition, all slaves, male and female, over 16 were listed as tithables, but children would not have been listed. By 1750-1775 perhaps as many as half the slave

largest holdings of tithables in the year 1758 were:

Table 11:
Torkhampton Tithable List; 1758

Master:	Tithables:	Slave Felons:
Col. Carter Burwell, 3 Estates	61	0
Col. Edward Digges, 2 Estates	56	3
Hon. William Nelson	38	2
Mr. James Burwell	34	0
Mr. John Wormley	34	1
Hon. T. Nelson	22	0
Mrs. Lightfoot, 2 Estates	38	0
Mr. John Goodwin, Sr.	19	0
Mr. Thomas Reynolds	18	3
Mr. John Goodwin	17	1
Mrs. Frances Nelson	16	1
Agnes Smith	15	0
Mr. Robert Smith	15	0
Peyton Randolph, Esq.	15	1
Mr. William Bates	14	0

Of the 412 tithables listed in 1758 there were only twelve slaves who were accused felons of the listed masters over time. Eight of the masters or mistresses of sizable holdings never had one of their own slaves brought to trial in York County. The households of Col. Carter Burwell, Mr. James Burwell, the Hon. William Nelson, Mrs. Lightfoot, and Mr. John Goodwin, Sr. must have been regarded as stable and

population would have been under the age of sixteen making the number of actual slaves much larger than the tithable list indicated.

secure operations.⁵³

Both the creation and practice of the law are indicators of the assurance of the slaveholder's regime. After the codification of Virginia's slave law in 1705, and its subsequent revisions in 1723 and 1748, the first major change in the law regulating the punishment of convicted slave felons occurred in 1732 when the Virginia Assembly extended the benefit of clergy to women, and, with more limitations to negroes, Indians, and mulattos.⁵⁴ A slave pleading benefit of clergy could now sometimes commute his or her sentence for more minor crimes from hanging to burning of the left hand with the initial of the crime committed and a whipping at the public whipping post.⁵⁵ It is interesting to note that the number of prosecutions of slave felons was minimal in York County before 1732 especially for crimes that were clergyable. Unlike white men and women under the law, negroes, Indians, and mulattos could not seek the benefit of clergy for "manslaughter, feloniously breaking and entering any house at night, or breaking and entering a house during the day if goods valued

⁵³Lorena Walsh argues that the Burwell holdings of slaves had been relatively stable operations since late in the seventeenth century. See Walsh.

⁵⁴England had extended the benefit of clergy to women during the reign of William and Mary, but the privilege had not been granted in Virginia.

⁵⁵William Waller Hening, The Statutes at Large: Collection of all the Laws of Virginia (Richmond, Virginia, 1820) Vol. IV. 1732, 326.

at more than five shillings were taken."⁵⁶ There were 34 slaves who were granted the benefit of clergy⁵⁷ after November 13, 1736, in York County. It is obvious from the record that many slaves were granted the benefit of clergy for crimes that far exceeded the stipulations of the law, especially in the value of personal property stolen which demonstrated the confidence of the slaveholding regime.⁵⁸

On February 14, 1747, Will and Cambridge, for example, were found guilty of breaking and entering and stealing two pieces of linen (£ 15) from Thomas Hornsby, 12 pairs of cotton stockings (£ 12) and 24 silk purses (£ 5) from Armistead Burwell, and nine pairs of shoes from the Honorable William Gooch, Esq. Both Will and Cambridge were allowed to "pray the benefit of the Act" in spite of the value of the goods stolen, which far exceeded the five shilling limit. They were both burnt in the left hand and received "39 lashes well laid on" at the public whipping post.⁵⁹

Until the law of 1732 negroes, Indians, and mulattos,

⁵⁶Hening, Vol. IV., 1732, 326-327.

⁵⁷ In the records it is often referred to as the "benefit of the Act of Assembly" referring to the action the General Assembly took in 1732 extending the British benefit of clergy to women and negroes, Indians, and mulattos in Virginia.

⁵⁸See Appendix K

⁵⁹ York County Court Order Book, February 14, 1747, CW (19) 189-90.

who claimed to be Christians, had been allowed to give testimony in the trials of white persons, but the new law stated that "forasmuch as they are people of such base and corrupt natures, that the credit of their testimony cannot be certainly depended upon"⁶⁰ they could no longer give testimony in capital cases except in trials of their fellow slaves. This legislation further empowered the masters and institutionalized their disdainful rejection of those persons who were not both free and white. The passage of this legislation now eliminated any possibility that a slave could help bring a white man to justice.

In 1748 the Virginia Assembly in more repressive legislation declared that "effectual provision should be made for the better ordering and governing of slaves, free negroes, mulattos, and Indians, and detecting and punishing their secret plots, and dangerous combinations, and for the speedy trial of such of them as commit capital crimes."⁶¹ It is interesting to note that there had not been one case of suspected insurrection and rebellion tried in York County before 1748, and that the single case of insurrection and rebellion tried at the Yorktown courthouse from 1700 to 1780 had resulted in an acquittal.

Seventeen years later in 1765 Governor Faquier issued permanent commissions of oyer and terminer to all Virginia

⁶⁰Hening, Vol. IV., 1732, 326-327.

⁶¹Hening, Vol. IV., 1732, 326-327.

counties allowing the courts to conduct speedier trials. Some harsher aspects of the laws governing slave crime were modified; slaves could now plead benefit of clergy for manslaughter if they killed a fellow slave, the dismemberment of runaway slaves was disallowed, but a slave convicted of raping a white woman could now be legally castrated.⁶² There had been only one conviction for rape in York County from 1700 to 1780 and that case had been tried in 1752 and resulted in execution.

The oyer and terminer court justices used the law and their own authority to shape the unequal relationship of slaves to York County's slave society. The verdicts and sentences they dispensed re-enforced their authority and provided security for slaveowners. The punishments given provide an excellent reading of what crimes and which slaves were considered to be most dangerous for free persons and their property.

The whip and the whipping post were permanent features of the courthouse yard. Public whippings would usually immediately follow the trial of the convicted felon, dramatically illustrating to the white and black community gathered there what behavior violated the safety and stability of white society. Public hangings, usually held about ten days after the trial, demonstrated to all people in the county what kind of behavior was forbidden and what

⁶²See the "Instructions" to Governor Faquier on p. 70.

the consequences were for those who dared to challenge the law and the established order.

Of the 154 slaves who were tried from 1700 to 1780 the pleas of 141 persons are noted in the record:

Table 12:
Pleas of Accused Slave Felons

Plea	Number of Slaves
Not Guilty	115
Guilty	10
Confessed	4
No Plea	9
No Prosecution	2
No Trial	1
Total:	141 ⁶³

The vast majority of slaves pled not guilty to the charge read against them. Confessions and guilty pleas all resulted in guilty verdicts, but of the 115 slaves who pled not guilty, about two-thirds (77 slaves) were found guilty and about one-third (36 slaves) were found not guilty.⁶⁴

⁶³ The total number of slaves who entered pleas is less than the total number of slaves accused of committing a felony because some of the records were torn or incomplete. This number also does not take into account the three convicted slave felons who escaped from prison before they could be hanged.

⁶⁴ Philip J. Schwarz in Twice Condemned concludes that 30% of prosecuted slave felons in Virginia from 1705 to 1865 were found not guilty of the crimes they were charged with. Philip J. Schwarz, Twice Condemned; Slaves and the Criminal

It is difficult to determine whether or not there were more convictions in serious crimes than in relatively minor ones since before 1750 and after 1770 the crime descriptions in the records are extremely variable.⁶⁵

In a number of cases with more than one slave involved, the justices practiced impartial justice, giving verdicts and sentences for each individual slave that were often different. For example Davy, the slave of Frances Nelson, Widow, and Dick, the slave of Anne Gibbons, Widow, broke into the storehouse of the Honorable William Nelson in Yorktown at night on October 11, 1761, and stole 20 yards of Irish linen valued at £ 4.10, a piece of calico valued at £ 3, and Current Money valued at £ 18.10. Both men pled not guilty. Davy was found guilty of breaking and entering, and burglary, while Dick was found guilty only of theft. Davy was sentenced to hang while Dick pled the benefit of clergy and was burnt in the left hand and discharged.⁶⁶

Punishments for convicted slaves were always violent whether they were sentenced to "lashes on the bare back well laid on" or to "be hanged by the neck until dead." Paradoxically those violent punishments, which were often given only for minor thefts, did not match the majority of

Laws of Virginia, 1705-1865 (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1986) 50.

⁶⁵ See Appendix K.

⁶⁶ York County Court Order Book, October 19, 1761, JO (3) 394-395. See Appendix K.

crimes slaves were convicted of committing.

From 1700-1780 eleven serving oyer and terminer court justices owned 20 of the 138 slaves who were tried as accused slave felons during their tenures as justices.⁶⁷ After 1753, despite the fact that the black population and the number of slaves prosecuted in the county increased, the serving justices had only four of their own slaves tried from 1753-1780.⁶⁸ The record makes clear that it was the practice of the oyer and terminer court justices to recuse themselves if their own slaves were being tried for a felony by the court or if they were a victim of the alleged slave crime, therefore eliminating the opportunity for conflict of interest.⁶⁹ The gentlemen justices did not hold other masters of slaves, who were convicted of committing felonies, accountable for their slave's supposed criminal behavior. The master was never considered responsible for his slave's behavior in spite of the fact that slaves were held as their masters' property.

⁶⁷See Appendix N.

⁶⁸See Appendix O.

⁶⁹See Appendix K and O.

Governor Fauquier's Challenge to the York County Court

Governor Francis Fauquier altered the pattern of justice for convicted slave felons long established by the gentlemen justices in York County. In his instructions as royal governor in Virginia from King George II. and Parliament, Fauquier was directed that he

shall endeavor to get a Law passed
(if not already done) for the
restraining of any inhuman Severity,
which by ill Masters or Overseers may
be used towards their Christian
Servants and their Slaves; and that
Provision be made therein, that the
willful killing of Indians and Negroes
may be punished with Death. And that a
fit Penalty be imposed for the maiming
of them.⁷⁰

Governor Fauquier in legislation of 1765, perhaps in a response to his Instructions, modified the punishments for convicted slave felons by outlawing the dismemberment of slaves and liberalizing the slave law by making it possible for slaves accused of murdering a slave to plead manslaughter. He did not, however, secure legislation that curbed masters from "inhuman Severity" or "the willful

⁷⁰ Fauquier Correspondence, "Instructions for Our Right Trusty and Right Well Beloved Cousin John Earl of Loudon 1756 March 17," The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia, February 1756 to November 1759.

killing of Indians and Negroes" which would make those crimes punishable by death. The law of 1667 remained unchallenged, protecting masters and overseers from prosecution if they caused the death of their slaves by correction. Fauquier undoubtedly turned to the practice of granting pardons to moderate the barbaric severity of slave punishments in York County.

During his tenure as governor from 1758 to 1768,⁷¹ Governor Fauquier pardoned eight of the eighteen convicted slave felons that the York County Court had sentenced to be hanged.⁷² From February 15, 1759, until October 1761, he had pardoned all five slaves who had been tried for breaking and entering and burglary and been condemned.⁷³

The first pardons he granted were to George and Jemmy, the slaves of Phillip Ludwell of James City County who were convicted of breaking and entering the mill house of Daniel

⁷¹It is important to note that from Governor Faquier's arrival in Virginia in 1758 until February 15, 1759 the records of oyer and court trials in York County have not survived to be included in this study.

⁷² The royal governor and his council had the power to review the court's actions and to grant pardons for those slaves sentenced to hang at oyer and terminer trials if they thought pardons to be justified. See Appendix K and M. It is significant that Thomas Everard was the clerk of the York County Court from 1745 to 1781 and that during Everard's service no other colonial governors were recognized as granting pardons in the York County Court Order Book. The Executive Journals of the Governor's Council and the Governor's Correspondence do not document pardons granted to slaves by other governors.

⁷³ Governor Faquier arrived in 1758 and the records of oyer and terminer courts are missing for that year.

Parke Custis on May 9, 1759 and stealing meal valued at 10 shillings. The next three cases to come before the court in 1760 also involved cases of breaking and entering a millhouse, a storehouse belonging to John Norton, and a dwelling house stealing goods valued from seven shillings to £ 6.30; all three slaves were convicted, sentenced to hang, and then later pardoned by Governor Fauquier. James, convicted in 1761 for theft of rum and sugar valued at 40 shillings, was hanged. Possibly the fear of slaves drinking together and threatening the security of the community prompted Fauquier not to grant a pardon in this case. In 1762 Sam was pardoned after being sentenced to hang for a crime of theft valued at 20 shillings.⁷⁴

There had been six other cases of theft tried by the court during this period where the justices found the slaves guilty, but granted benefit of clergy or administered whippings. Cuffy, who was hanged in 1763, had been convicted of the violent crime of poison and murder. The three slaves, Sam, Charles, and Tom, who were convicted of stealing goods valued at 120 shillings, were hanged without being pardoned in 1765. Will was pardoned for a theft of 100 shillings in the next year while Matt was pardoned for stealing goods valued at £5 and 25 shillings. After 1766, however, Fauquier did not pardon the five slaves sentenced to hang for theft crimes which ranged in value from 20

⁷⁴See Appendix K and M.

shillings to 226 shillings. The value of the thefts which led to the death penalty during Governor Fauquier's tenure varied from seven shillings to £ 113. Of the convicted felons Governor Fauquier pardoned, the value of their theft varied from seven shillings to £6 30 shillings. All pardons with one exception were given to a slave who had acted alone.⁷⁵

Governor Fauquier's pardons for convicted slave felons in York County were unprecedented in the York County Court Order Book.⁷⁶ Fauquier used his royal authority to moderate the pattern of Draconian punishments that had been well established by 1758 for slave felons who had been convicted of relatively minor charges of breaking and entering and burglary and then sentenced to hang. There is evidence from Fauquier's private and public life that helps explain his enlightened and humane actions.

Fauquier, a fellow of the British Royal Society, was recognized as a highly intelligent and cultivated gentlemen. Thomas Jefferson later recognized Fauquier as "the ablest man who ever filled the chair of governor here."⁷⁷ An Englishman and a participant in Enlightenment thought, he

⁷⁵See Appendix K and M.

⁷⁶ In the York County records only Governor Faquier's pardons are noted. The Virginia Gazette periodically listed the condemned free felons who were pardoned by the governor, but makes no mention of pardoned slaves.

⁷⁷Andrew A. Lipscombe and Albert Ellergy Berg, eds. The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. XIV., 231-232.

associated frequently in Williamsburg with such liberal and enlightened men as William Small, George Wythe, and the young Thomas Jefferson.⁷⁸ While the governor shared many social and cultural values with the justices of York County, he was not a native Virginian and his experience with slavery was limited to his tenure as governor. Fauquier, recognizing the humanity of enslaved persons and the inherent evils in the practice of slavery, granted pardons to condemned slave felons under certain circumstances to mitigate some of the harsh and cruel injustices of society's treatment of their slaves.

It is obvious from his will that he abhorred slavery and the part he played in its practice.

⁷⁸ It is interesting to consider what these men must have discussed in regard to slavery in Virginia before the Revolution. Fauquier's will, a most enlightened document in regards to science and slavery, may well have been an outgrowth of their frequent discussions. Fauquier and his thoughts may also have made a powerful impression on George Wythe and Thomas Jefferson.

I hope that I shall be found to be a merciful Master to them and that no one of them will rise up in judgement against me in that Great Day when all my actions will be exposed to Public View, For with what face can I expect mercy from an offending God, if I have not myself shewn mercy to these dependant on me. But it is not sufficient that I have been this Master in my life. I must provide for them at my death, by using my utmost endeavors that they experience as little misery during their lives as their unhappy and pitiable condition will allow.⁷⁹

His exceptional attitudes and actions towards his own slaves are reflected in the text of the will. He requested that his family, servants, and slaves should all gather together to hear the will read aloud so that "everything may be explained to them . . ."⁸⁰ He then directed that each of his slave families should be sold together and not separated and that each slave should have the opportunity of selecting his own future master with the practical inducement that the slave would be offered to that "chosen" master at a 25%

⁷⁹York County Court Project (The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia) Governor Francis Faquier's Will, York County, Virginia, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia, Book 21; Wills and Inventories, 397-403.

⁸⁰York County Court Records Project, Book 21; Wills and Inventories, 397-403.

reduction off his market value.⁸¹ Governor Fauquier not only included his slaves in the legal reading of his will which brought them into the bounds of society, but gave them the opportunity of choice which acknowledged their humanity.

In York County, Virginia, from 1770 to 1780, all free and slave people knew their place in their own parish and county where they lived tightly regulated lives in accordance with the structures of patriarchy and slavery. The gentlemen justices understood how that authority flowed from the king and Parliament to the royal governor and the General Assembly in Virginia to themselves as magistrates of the York County Court. They exercised their own social and political authority over all the residents of the county by protecting the rights of property for all free men through the execution of the law while demanding absolute obedience from all enslaved persons through their judgments of all accused slave felons in courts and oyer and terminer.

In those courts of oyer and terminer the gentlemen justices dispensed swift justice and severe punishments for the guilty. They were secure in their exercise of power as they used broad judicial discretion in their execution of the law, attempting to balance the need to protect the security of the master class and their own sense of "justice" for the accused. With each case they prosecuted

⁸¹York County Court Records Project, Book 21; Wills and Inventories, 397-403.

they were confronted with the terrible contradiction that slavery imposed on their society that slaves were both property and human beings. Their discretionary authority was not challenged except by Governor Fauquier's exercise of his power to pardon condemned slaves preventing eight slaves from losing their lives, but not permanently altering the gentlemen justices' use of executions as punishments for slaves who committed property crimes.

CHAPTER III.

ENSLAVED VIRGINIANS: SLAVE CRIME AND WHITE JUSTICE THE OYER AND TERMINER TRIALS IN YORK COUNTY, VIRGINIA 1700-1780

. . . The point is that you are animate chattel and animate chattel is capable of craft and connivery and wily stealth. You ain't a wagon, Reverend, but chattel that possesses moral choice and spiritual volition. Remember that well. Because that's how come the law provides that animate chattel like you can be tried for a felony, and that's how come you're goin' to be tried next Satidy."

He paused, then said softly without emotion: "And hung by the neck until dead."¹

Slave "Justice"

On May 18, 1765, Sam, slave of John Brown of James City, Charles, slave of Squire James Carter of Williamsburg, and Tom, slave of William Wilkinson of James City, were brought to the Yorktown courthouse from the gaol where they had been confined since their arrests. Yorktown was some fifteen miles from Williamsburg and James City County where they lived and the town and its people were unfamiliar to them. As they approached the courthouse they saw the

¹ William Styron, The Confessions of Nat Turner (New York, 1967) 21-22.

ominous whipping post in the courthouse yard and knew that the gallows were close by where condemned slave felons were hanged. The courthouse was a threatening place where powerful white men freely and ruthlessly exercised their authority over slaves. Slaves only entered the courtroom under intimidating circumstances if they were charged with a felony or were there to appear as a witness for another slave who was being prosecuted.

They were dragged into the courtroom by the sheriff and held in a side room until the gentlemen justices, officers of the court, their masters, and witnesses had gathered for the court proceedings. That spring day Dudley Digges, John Prentis, Thomas Nelson, James Pride, and Nicholas Dickson left their businesses and went to the court in response to the governor's writ of oyer and terminer to prosecute the three accused slave felons. They entered the familiar courtroom elaborately dressed in their satin waistcoats, fine ruffled shirts, velvet breeches, and wigs. The ritualistic oaths of loyalty to the Crown were administered and they confidentially took their places on the high bench beneath the royal coat of arms to conduct the trial.

The sheriff took Sam, Charles, and Tom, to the high bench where the justices conversed casually among themselves ignoring the presence of the slaves. The three slaves, dressed in their coarse and worn slave clothing, bare footed, and shackled in heavy leg irons, stood in stark

contrast to the aristocratic gentlemen seated majestically above them. All of the Yorktown justices were strangers to them.

Benjamin Waller read the charges that Sam, Charles, and Tom "Feloniously and Burglariously did break and enter" the "Dwelling house of Nathaniel Walthoe" in Bruton Parish on May 21, 1765, from 9:00 P.M. to 12:00 A.M. They were accused of stealing "1 pr. of silk stockings valued at 30 shillings, 1 Frize coat valued at 30 shillings, one Cloth Waistcoat valued at 30 shillings, 1 pr. of Velvet Breeches valued at 30 shillings, and Three hundred and fifty pounds Current Money of this Colony in Treasury Bills." When asked by the gentlemen justices they all pleaded not guilty to the charges. The justices, after "Sundry Witnesses were sworn and examined," found Sam, Charles, and Tom guilty of the felony and burglary, and sentenced them to hang.²

Sam, Charles, and Tom, intimidated by the formal trappings of the courtroom, the ritualized court proceedings, and the courtroom filled with strange white men, were rendered helpless before the majesty and power of the gentlemen justices seated high above them. The seriousness of their crime was impressed upon them. The justices questioned the slaves and examined the witnesses in elaborate legal language they did not understand and then

² York County Records, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, May 18, 1765, JO (4) 372-3).

the justices quickly and informally reached a verdict without the benefit of a jury and sentenced them to hang in ten days time. There was no one in the court except possibly their masters and witnesses who knew them, and there was no one present who had any authority to defend them. Confounded at the severity of their sentences they made no response when asked if they had anything to say for themselves.³ The sheriff then returned the three condemned slaves to the gaol to await their execution.

It is interesting to speculate whether the three condemned slaves ever considered the possibility that Governor Faquier would consider a pardon in their case. Slaves in York County and Williamsburg would have been aware that Governor Faquier had granted several pardons for condemned slaves since his arrival in 1759.⁴ They also remembered those condemned slaves who had not been pardoned by Governor Faquier and the effect their hangings had upon their families and communities. Sam, Charles, and Tom perhaps compared their own case with those they recalled and realized how much more serious their charge was than others they had heard of that had brought condemnation without a

³In the 115 cases recorded in the York County Order Book there is not a single slave who responds when asked if he has anything to say after being sentenced to hang.

⁴See Appendix M.

pardon in the past.⁵

Apprehension within the slave communities would increase with the rise of slave arrests and court prosecutions. The growing number of prosecutions and the progressive severity of punishments given to convicted slave felons by the gentlemen justices after 1750 increased anxiety for slaves. News of the proceedings, public whippings and hangings, and pardons could spread quickly among free and enslaved county residents to plantation slave quarters and the larger urban slave communities of Yorktown and Williamsburg. The happenings at the courthouse were a sensitive barometer of the changing attitudes of the white community toward their slaves that directly influenced their daily lives.

For example, the April 5, 1770 issue of the Virginia Gazette, in reference to a burglary of John Carter's store and other robberies and the undermining of smokehouses in Williamsburg, argued for a night watch like the one enforced in Norfolk to help prevent theft and fire.⁶ Williamsburg slaves were not mentioned directly, but in January of 1770 Issac and David were tried for burning their master's house

⁵There is no indication in the Court Order Book that Sam, Charles, and Tom were pardoned.

⁶ See the Virginia Gazette, Purdie and Dixon April 5, 1770.

in Williamsburg.⁷ A night watch would inhibit the free movement of slaves after dark and make difficult and dangerous not only their attempts to commit crimes but their efforts to gather with family and friends after the day's work and to exercise whatever small freedoms they claimed.

Slaves knew well what kind of behavior resulted in confrontations at the courthouse; they represented actions which slaves had undertaken for themselves at great risk to their own lives and the safety and security of their families and communities. But, at the same time, those occasions gave slaves the opportunity to free themselves defiantly from the constant restraints, humiliations, and cruelties their masters and overseers inflicted upon them. In the commission of a crime slaves acted for themselves and their own interests against the wills of their masters and their slaveholding community. They could break through those controls most directly by violating the very laws of property that the master class so greatly valued and which defined their own status as slaves.

Crimes of breaking and entering and burglary may have been viewed very differently by free and enslaved Virginians. English common law and the legislative practices of the Virginia Assembly protected the ownership

⁷A nightwatch was later established in Williamsburg in 1772. See Appendix K for crimes tried at the York County Courthouse that would have increased the demand for one at that time.

of all property, including slaves, owned by free members of Virginia's society. The greatest investment Virginia property holders had was held in the ownership of land and slaves. As Thomas Jefferson argued:

. . . it is a problem which I give the master to solve, whether the religious precepts against the violation of property were not framed for him as well as his slave? And whether the slave may not as justifiably take a little from one, who has taken all from him,, as he may slay one who would slay him?⁸

Enslaved persons would have no reason to respect the laws of property made to advantage those who enslaved them.

The great majority of the prosecutions of accused slave felons involved breaking and entering and burglary of personal property. The items stolen and the circumstances under which they were stolen changed over time.⁹ The absence of testimony makes it impossible to determine what motivated a slave to commit a particular crime. Considering the items allegedly stolen provides some insights into motivations for committing burglary: subsistence for individual slaves, their families, or friends (foodstuffs, money, and some clothing); pleasure (rum and wine); economic advantage through illegal or underground markets (spirits, linens, textiles, fine pieces of clothing, and luxury

⁸Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1955) 142.

⁹See Appendix J.

goods).

In the late 1740's there was a shift in the items stolen from goods that would have been used by slaves themselves to bolts of textiles and several items of clothing that could be retailed easily which suggests the presence of an underground market in the area. These thefts were often committed by more than one slave working together.¹⁰ Before 1750 most burglaries were personal, but after 1750 some crimes became more impersonal as the focus shifted to merchant's warehouses, stores, and wealthy households in urban areas suggesting some criminal organization and the theft of more valuable goods.¹¹

Table 13:
Slave Crime Committed by Single Slaves and Groups of Slaves

Dates:	Trials:	Single Slave:	Group of Slaves:
1704-1729:	4	100%	
1730-1739:	12	85%	15%
1740-1749:	9	60%	40%
1750-1759:	11	61%	39%
1760-1769:	22	67%	33%
1770-1780:	21	81%	19%

¹⁰Details of the operations of Williamsburg's underground markets are not available in the records. Mechal Sobel argues that "Evidence of black-white partnership in crime is widely available," but she acknowledges that most specific references are to the nineteenth century. See Mechal Sobel, The World They Made Together (Princeton, New Jersey, 1987) 51.

¹¹See Appendix L.

Slaves Brought to Trial

Masters exercised great authority over the lives of their own slaves. Not only did masters control the rations of food and clothing and provide shelter for their slaves, but they directed their labor and controlled whatever freedom they had in their daily lives. It was well within the master's authority to threaten or destroy the security of slave family life by his deliberate separation of husband from wife and parents from children by sale or transfer for economic reasons or if a slave displeased him. Withdrawal of privileges and corporal punishments such as whippings could be used as weapons of physical and psychological control. The slave laws throughout the eighteenth century continued to allow the masters complete freedom to regulate and discipline their own slaves. The white community expected masters to control their slaves behavior and curtail their movements on and off their own property.

All slaves knew well that their masters and their overseers were empowered by the laws of slavery to judge and discipline them as the masters desired. Masters and overseers, without the need for a legally constituted hearing or trial, took care of slave crime or misbehavior on their own properties by administering whatever punishments they thought appropriate and effective. It was common

knowledge among all slaves that the law protected masters and overseers from prosecution if they caused the death of their slaves through "correction."

There was no limit to the master's authority over their own slaves except in rare circumstances when it was known by whites, who were willing to testify, that a master or overseer had caused the death of his slave by his excessive cruelty or perverse behavior. The Grand Jury of each county had the authority to indict the slaveholder with convincing testimony and send him to trial at the General Court in Williamsburg. Slaves, however, knew that a law passed in 1732, describing all negroes, mulattoes, and slaves as "people of such base and corrupt natures" prevented them from ever testifying against a white person in court, leaving them no way to bring a cruel master to justice even in those exceedingly rare cases when a master was tried for the murder of his own slave.

Most slaves probably would not have known of the case from another Virginia county tried in 1739 when the master Charles Quinn and his overseer David White were convicted of murder and sentenced to hang for the death of Quinn's slave by excessive beatings. The more senior gentlemen justices and older slaveholders in York County, however, may have remembered the unusual case.¹²

¹² The Virginia Gazette, November 24, 1739. Before 1776 there had been several cases of whites tried for the murder of their slaves at the General Court.

Masters could choose whether or not to bring a slave to trial who had committed a felony within the jurisdiction of his own property. The law encouraged them to do so. From 1700 to 1780 there were only eleven slaves brought to court by their own masters who were accused of committing felonies against them in York County; three cases of arson and eight cases of theft. There was not, however, a single case of rape, murder, or rebellion or insurrection brought by masters of their own slaves to court within the county.¹³

Slaves rarely committed violent crimes in York County and a higher proportion of them were committed before 1750. The one charge of suspected slave rebellion and insurrection resulted in an acquittal.¹⁴ Of the 38 accused slave felons tried from 1704 to 1750 10.5 % were tried for crimes of violence, two arson cases (convictions), and a murder of a fellow slave (conviction). From 1750 to 1780 5.2 % of accused slave felons were tried for committing violent crimes out of 116 persons charged; two rapes (one conviction and one acquittal), one poison and murder (conviction), one case of arson (conviction), one case of mutilation (reduced to a misdemeanor), and one case of murder which was reduced to manslaughter (conviction with a plea for mercy). From 1700 to 1780 there were only six clear convictions, one of the convictions involved a slave victim and

¹³See Appendix K.

¹⁴See Appendix K.

another was so tentative that the court invited a review and pardon by the governor and Council.¹⁵

Unlike the growing number of prosecutions for breaking and entering and burglary, slave rebellion and insurrection, as well as criminal violence on the part of slaves against the white community, were not major factors in the life of York County. The threat to slaveholders in York County was against their property not their lives or the stability or survival of their slave system.

Of the 115 cases prosecuted by the justices in York County from 1700 to 1780 the number of accused slave felons involved in the commission of a single crime varied; 72% were committed by a single slave, 22% by two slaves, and 6% by three slaves or more slaves.¹⁶ The percentage of slaves accused of committing crimes together increased and peaked in the 1740s and 1750s suggesting that social cooperation among slaves was stronger at that time. Before 1740 there were only two crimes committed by two slaves, but from 1740 to 1770 there were 32 crimes committed by two or more slaves accused of working together. The different slaves accused of committing a particular crime together were more often not slaves of the same master.¹⁷

Of those 32 crimes prosecuted that were allegedly

¹⁵See Appendix K.

¹⁶See Appendix K.

¹⁷See Appendix K and S.

committed by two or more slaves, 30 were theft, one was arson, and one was suspected slave rebellion and insurrection. Burglaries ranged from the theft of hogs, turkeys, and sheep to ambitious thefts of expensive clothing and textiles, which probably could not all be used by the slaves committing the crime, but found their way into an underground marketing network. After 1750 more slaves joined together to commit crimes against masters' warehouses, mills, and stores, making the threat to the slave holding community more impersonal and challenging.¹⁸ Preventing the criminal activity of a single slave was difficult enough, but preventing organized crime planned and executed by two or more slaves was daunting, and slaves undoubtedly knew that. Slaves who banded together were able to develop networks that provided them support and far more resources for criminal activity, directly challenging the masters' control of their own property. Crimes that were committed by more than one person also involved more planning and coordination to execute, and thus served to strengthen bonds between perpetrators.

Anticipating the time and place crimes were likely to be committed was of tremendous importance in order to guard against possible crime. Slaves were safer and more mobile at night when they were not under the direct supervision of the master or overseer and when the towns were wrapped in

¹⁸See Appendix K.

darkness. The law of 1732, extending benefit of clergy, specifically stated that any crime of breaking and entering a house at night committed by a negro, Indian, or mulatto was not eligible for consideration.¹⁹ Fifty-three cases in the records documented the time of day when the crime was committed--all of them took place at night.²⁰

From 1740 to 1770 there was a growing increase in both the black population of the colony and in the concentration of slaves in the urban areas of Williamsburg and Yorktown which encouraged close associations among slaves and a greater opportunity for criminal behavior. For the decade of 1770 to 1780 there was a decided decrease in the number of slaves accused of committing crimes and 81% of those alleged crimes were committed by a single individual.²¹ This phenomenon perhaps reflects the impact of Dunmore's Proclamation and the disruptions of the Revolution both of which decreased the black population of the county from an estimated population of 3,527 in 1775 to 2,864 in 1776.

Slaves knew their fellow slaves who were viewed by the white community as threatening to the slaveholding establishment by their repeated offenses or assertive

¹⁹There were times, however, when slaves were granted benefit of clergy even when the charges read against them exceeded the limits placed upon accused slave felons by the law of 1732.

²⁰ Perhaps if a crime was committed during the day the time was simply not noted in the record.

²¹See Appendix H.

behavior. The slave community could have viewed them very differently, however, perhaps with admiration or fear. There were 20 repeat offenders belonging to 18 masters who were brought to trial two or three separate times for different felonies from 1740 until 1780.²² The time between trials for repeat offenders varied significantly from less than a month to over eight years, but the majority of offenders were not arrested a second time within the same year. Undoubtedly some laid low for awhile and cooled off or just didn't get caught again so quickly.²³

From the record it is impossible to know how much activity there was and how many slaves were routinely participating in criminal activity against the free white population with other slaves or with whites. The white establishment often suspected that slaves and poor whites were illegally marketing stolen goods, but it is very difficult to document from the record.

The great majority of accused slave felons were male; only 8% of the 154 slaves arrested and tried from 1704 to 1780 were women. Females made up 38% of all slaves prosecuted before 1735, but from 1735 until 1780 only 5% of accused slave felons tried were women. In spite of the fact that the rate of crime in the county accelerated after 1740 only five female slaves were accused of committing a felony

²²See Appendix J.

²³See Appendix K.

and brought to trial from 1743 to 1780.²⁴ Four of the five women were prosecuted for theft and the four of them were accused of committing the crime with a male slave. Of the five female slaves brought to trial during those years 40% were acquitted and discharged while 33% of all accused male slave felons were acquitted.²⁵

On January 20, 1752 Dinah and Philis with Frank, all slaves of Thomas Mumford, were accused of stealing a shoat. Philis was discharged, but Frank and Dinah were found guilty and given 39 lashes--there was apparently no thought of reducing the number of lashes for a slave woman.²⁶ There were no other female slaves brought to trial for fifteen years until October 4, 1767, when David, slave of John Saunders, and Sarah, slave of William Carter, were accused of stealing linens worth 93 shillings from the dwelling house of Thomas Everard, clerk of the York County Court, in Williamsburg between 9:00 P.M. and 12:00 A.M. on September 6, 1767. David was found guilty of a misdemeanor, but Sarah was found guilty of the felony and hanged. Again, there was no modification of the sentence given because Sarah was a woman. Four years later on January 5, 1771 Scipio and Lucy, slaves of Catherine Hubard, were accused of theft and found

²⁴See Appendix H.

²⁵See Appendix K.

²⁶ White women were also occasionally beaten as a punishment if they were unable to pay the fine, especially if they had committed fornication or had a bastard child.

not guilty and discharged.²⁷ During the same period 116 male slaves were brought to court as accused felons. All repeat offenders were male.²⁸

This significant difference in the prosecution rate from 1743 to 1780, of male and female slaves tried suggests that powerful cultural influences were exerted on female slaves both from their African heritage and their African-American families and communities in Virginia. Before 1730 family formation was more difficult for slaves in the Colonial Chesapeake. The higher proportion of women who were indicted for felonies in the early years of the eighteenth century may be explained by the fact that they were not as likely to be tied to families and children and could therefore act more independently.

After 1730, however, family formation was more possible and women would have been responsible for their young children.²⁹ Black women, in their child bearing years, were having children on the average of every two to two and one-half years; consequently many slave women were often pregnant or nursing their infants and caring for young children. The master would also have had a potent weapon in his control of slave women in that he could threaten to sell

²⁷York County Court Order Record, JO-2 (1770-1772) 155.

²⁸See Appendix J.

²⁹ See Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1986).

the children away from their mothers at any time for their misbehavior.³⁰

Slave women would have been far less willing to take the risk of committing a felony than many male slaves who were often unable to live with their families. Male slaves often had more freedom of movement. On plantations work assignments in the fields were very similar for both men and women, but male slaves were more mobile as carters or skilled craftsmen. Towns like Williamsburg and Yorktown had concentrated populations of African Americans and offered more opportunities for the theft of valuable goods. In Williamsburg the majority of slaves in 1775 were female,³¹ and many were employed by masters in service-related work in taverns, businesses, and homes where they would have had access to valuable items. Perhaps women could more easily take things from households or businesses over a period of time and not be detected. It is also possible that masters regarded female slaves as less threatening to themselves and their property.

Unlike their experience in Africa, enslaved men in Virginia had little control over their own family life. By law their children were identified by the status of their mothers, and nowhere in the record is the identity of the

³⁰It is interesting to note that about one-tenth of all runaways in Virginia and Maryland before the Revolution were women--the vast majority were men.

³¹1775 Williamsburg census

slave father acknowledged. Marriage for slaves was not legally recognized or protected. A slave father was powerless and had no legal claim to his wife or children. They seldom lived with their wives and children especially on small holdings, but in the denser communities of Williamsburg and Yorktown they could have lived near their wives and children. The master could separate husband and wife at will and sell the children away from the mother while the father stood aside helpless and confounded. These factors may have motivated male slaves to commit crimes against those masters who had taken all from them.

Slaves in Virginia knew their resident masters well in most circumstances. They would have known which masters were cruel or lenient and how best to accommodate them. There were 110 different masters of slaves identified in the records owning accused slave felons tried at the York County courthouse from 1700 to 1780.³² Some masters had more than one slave tried for different crimes.

Of the 154 slaves prosecuted as felons in York County, 97 slaves can be identified as belonging to masters living

³²A number of masters did not have their residences listed in the record and it is impossible to identify where all of them lived. Sixty-nine of the 110 masters can be identified as living in York County; 23 lived in Williamsburg, thirteen lived in Yorktown, and the other 33 lived somewhere in the county in Williamsburg, Yorktown or the countryside. In addition, of those not identified, 12 masters had slaves brought to trial from 1770-1780 which suggests the instability of the Revolutionary period for York County with people travelling about and masters away from home.

within the county from 1700 to 1780.

Table 14:
Residences of Accused Slave Felons in York County

Williamsburg:	33 Slaves
Bruton Parish:	7 Slaves
Yorktown:	11 Slaves
Yorkhampton Parish:	11 Slaves
York County:	26 Slaves
Total:	97 Slaves ³³

There was a decided concentration of slaves belonging to masters in Williamsburg and Yorktown. In addition there were 30 slaves who belonged to masters outside of York County and 26 slaves whose masters are not identified in the records.

Twenty masters of slaves can be identified as living outside the county even though their slaves committed crimes within the boundaries of York County. Planters and merchants often travelled to Williamsburg and some brought slaves with them. Some slaves belonging to masters living outside the county could have been rented out to white men living within the county. Slaves without masters such as runaways posed a special threat to the community they were out of any master's control.

³³See Appendix N.

Slaves throughout Virginia knew that Williamsburg, with its tight African-American community of almost 1,000 blacks in 1775, could have supported and hidden runaway slaves or other slaves in trouble. For example, on November 27, 1769, an ad in the Virginia Gazette stated that Sam "pretends to lay claim to his freedom, and is now harbored at one Matthew Ashbys, a mulatto, in Williamsburg, as I am informed."³⁴

James Burwell advertised for his outlawed slave Gaby in the Virginia Gazette on September 14, 1768, stating that Gaby "has a wife at Mr. Nicholson's in Williamsburg where (in all probability) he may be secreted by her."³⁵ The capital city was the center for black communication and support systems for African-American families throughout the colony.

The counties closest to York were Elizabeth City to the south and James City and Charles City to the west and north. Gloucester County was across the York River from York County and easily reached by ferry. There were six slaves from James City County (some of whom may have lived in Williamsburg) and seven slaves from Gloucester County who were tried for committing felonies in York County. The slaves from those counties could have easily crossed over the boundaries into York County to commit crimes, especially since Williamsburg and Yorktown offered particular exploitive opportunities for slaves.

³⁴The Virginia Gazette, 27 November 1769.

³⁵The Virginia Gazette, 14, September 1768.

Criminal Opportunity: Time, Place, and Victims

The York County Records indicate the time of day the crime was committed only when it happened at night. During the day it was difficult for a slave to evade a master or an overseer. At night, however, slaves were free from their labors and could more easily congregate to plan and execute forays against the establishment.

From 1700 to 1780, the time of year when the crime was committed was noted in the record for the majority of cases. The months when the most criminal activity occurred were:

Table 15:
Slave Crime and the Seasons

	Month:	Number of Crimes Committed:
1.	January	8 crimes
2.	February	11 crimes
3.	March	11 crimes
4.	April	10 crimes
5.	May	10 crimes
6.	June	14 crimes
7.	July	4 crimes
8.	August	10 crimes
9.	September	6 crimes
10.	October	6 crimes
11.	November	11 crimes
12.	December	9 crimes
*Total:		100 crimes ³⁶

³⁶The average number of crimes committed per month was 9.2% See Appendix K.

July may have been a month when few crimes were committed because it would be a busy month in the fields tending to the tobacco plants, while September and October would have been months of heavy work harvesting the crops and preparing the tobacco. During the winter, when field work was less pressured and daylight was shorter, there was an increase in slave activity. A great number of York County slaves, however, would have been living in urban Williamsburg and Yorktown and would not have been affected by the agricultural calendar. It is interesting to note that crime did not increase during the months of April and October during Public Times in Williamsburg when the General Court met and when the House of Burgesses was in session.

After 1740 slaves were not as tightly bound to their master's property. The importation of African slaves decreased and more slaves became native-born Virginians. A large number of slaves in York County would have had extended family in the county and some of those families would have been in the county for several generations at the time of the Revolution. Travel between holdings would have been common and networks of slaves would have been well established.

Many slaves, especially male slaves, would have been familiar with the landscape, knowing well where a wealthy planter or merchant lived as well as knowing when warehouses were stocked and which mills were unprotected at night.

Knowing escape routes and hiding places would have been essential for slaves seeking to exploit their masters.

Slaves knew where valuable objects were to be found in the households of the wealthy or in the storehouses of merchants of Williamsburg and Yorktown. Slaves living in the urban areas would have had much greater access to the goods of other households and businesses. In an urban area, with a higher concentration of slaves, it would have been easier to commit crimes co-operatively and gain assistance for the commission of that crime from others. The county was "home" for the majority of slaves by mid century, and they knew where the opportunities for slave crime were.

Table 16:
Places Where Crimes Were Committed in York County³⁷

Place:	Number of Crimes:
Dwelling Houses	25
Mansion Houses	10
Storehouse	8
Mill Houses	5
Kitchens	5
Warehouses	4
Gaol	3
Smokehouse/Meathouse	3
Palace Lands	2
Shop House	2
Dairy House	1
Quarter House	1
Barns and Outbuildings	1
Public Warehouse	1
Ship in Yorktown	1
King's Highway	1
Tan Vat	1

Dwelling houses, mansion houses, and outbuildings with their valuable and marketable goods were places where most slave crimes were committed. Shop houses, storehouses, warehouses, and mills were also vulnerable as they held goods that could be easily used or sold by slaves in the underground markets and were more likely to be unprotected at night. Only one alleged crime was committed on shipboard even though Yorktown was a busy commercial port.³⁸

Slaves would have known not only where valuable and

³⁷See Appendix K.

³⁸See Appendix N.

vulnerable goods were stored, but which masters were vulnerable or ill-protected. Male heads of household because they were far more numerous were more than three times as often victims of slave crime as women. Heads of household who were old and infirm, or were absent, or widows or spinsters living alone may have been easier targets for exploitation. Seven widows and one spinster were identified within the group of women victims.³⁹

Anne Sullivant, Widow, is an example of a vulnerable mistress. Within seven years Anne Sullivant was both the mistress and victim in three felony cases. On September 20, 1730, Mary Aggy, allegedly took goods worth 40 s. from Sullivant's house. Less than two months later on November 10, 1730⁴⁰ Martin, the slave of Thomas Bray, was convicted of stealing bacon, beef, rum and wine from Anne Sullivant. In 1737 Jack, Anne Sullivant's slave, was arrested for stealing rum and found not guilty. She was certainly a target of opportunity--perhaps ill, or old, or lax.

Slaves Who Influenced the Magistrates' Practice of Justice

It is possible to identify several slaves who entered the oyer and terminer courts who were able to transcend

³⁹See Appendix N.

⁴⁰Three days after Mary Aggy was brought to trial.

their status as slaves to affect their own lives and the lives of others. Their actions defied the dehumanizing constraints of slavery by forcing the justices to recognize their individuality and humanity, and by doing so they influenced the justice they received and changed the court's established patterns of behavior.

Mary Aggy, the slave of Anne Sullivant, on November 7, 1730, stood before the York County justices accused of the theft of goods valued at 40 shillings from the house of her mistress in Bruton Parish.⁴¹ The justices found her guilty, but she "prayed the benefit of the statute made in the third and fourth years of William and Mary." The court, "in doubt," sent the case to the General Court for resolution.⁴² Her plea was forwarded by the York County Court, with the endorsement of Governor Gooch, to the Council and the General Court who later sent her petition to England for a judgment which led to the establishment of Benefit of Clergy in Virginia for women as well as negroes, Indians, and mulattos.

⁴¹ The portion of the document that describes the theft is torn therefore details of the theft are not known.

⁴² "Mary Aggy, Virginia-born, Christianized, and the property of a Williamsburg widow, had committed a larceny for which she would have been clergyable in England, if a free woman. Governor Gooch interested himself in the case for some unexplained reason and after Mary Aggy's conviction by the Commission of Oyer and Terminer for York County, had a application for benefit of clergy entered in her behalf." Thad Tate, The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Virginia, 1965) 95.

As a result of Mary Aggy's plea the extension of the benefit of clergy to women and, more restrictively, to negroes and slaves was granted by a law enacted by the Virginia Assembly in May of 1732. The law came to read:

That when any negro, mulatto, Indian whatsoever, shall be convicted of any offense within the benefit of clergy, judgment of death shall not be given against him or her, upon such conviction; but he or she shall be burnt in the hand in open court, by the jailor, and suffer such other corporal punishment, as the court shall think fit to inflict.⁴³

But, unlike white men and women, negroes, Indians, and mulattos could not pray benefit of clergy for manslaughter, feloniously breaking and entering any house at night, or breaking and entering a house during the day if goods valued at more than five shillings were taken.⁴⁴

Mary Aggy defended herself in court by challenging the justices to consider her plea of Benefit of Clergy. It is fascinating to speculate how she would have known of that English law passed in the late seventeenth century that had not as yet been applied in Virginia courts to women as it had in England. Not only did Mary Aggie mediate her own case, but by her actions she transformed the way justice was

⁴³William Waller Hening, The Statutes at Large: Collection of all the Laws of Virginia (Richmond, Virginia, 1820) Vol. IV., 1732, 326.

⁴⁴Hening, Vol. IV., 1732, 326.

dispensed to all women and to negroes and mulattoes in the future. She saved a number from being hanged for their crimes.

Natt presented a personal challenge to the gentlemen justices. On March 7, 1751, Natt, the slave of William Drummond of James City County, and Simon, the slave of Ann Shield of York County, were tried in York County for breaking into the "Mansion House of Jane Vobe" with "force and arms" at night and "feloniously did steal and carry away" five gallons of rum valued at 10 s. and a box of candles valued at 20s. Both men pled not guilty. Jane Vobe and Betty "a Christian negro slave belonging to Frances Webb" were witnesses for Natt.⁴⁵ Natt was found not guilty of the felony, but guilty of "divers misdeamnors" and given 39 lashes and then discharged. Simon was found guilty of the felony and hanged on April 8, 1751.⁴⁶

Three months later Natt was back in court accused of breaking and entering and "Felonouisly and burglariously did take and steal and carry" away ten pair of worsted stockings valued at 40 s. and six rugs valued at 30 s. Again, Natt pled not guilty and once again Betty, "a negro woman slave belonging to Frances Webb" and William Lowe were witnesses.

⁴⁵ It is most unusual for witnesses to be named in the records. Unfortunately, there is no record of their testimony.

⁴⁶ York County Court Order Book, March 7, 1751, JO (1) 400-400a.

The justices (who were the same justices who had presided over his last trial⁴⁷) found him not guilty and he was discharged out of custody.

The third time Natt appeared in court was January 31, 1753. The court record identified him as a mulatto. Natt, with Essex who belonged to Matthew Pierce of York County, was charged with breaking and entering the mansion house of Peyton Randolph, Esqr. in Williamsburg where they "did take steal and carry away" three damask tablecloths valued at £ 8 and one diaper table cloth valued at 10 s. Both men pled not guilty. Essex was found guilty and was burnt in the left hand and given 25 lashes. Natt was once again found not guilty of the felony and discharged.

Natt was either not guilty in all three incidents and was able to convince the justices of his innocence, or he was able to muster an effective defense through the testimony of the witnesses called in his case. His ability to escape punishment three times makes him an intriguing rarity in the court records.

Fanny, slave of Richard Charlton, was brought to the courthouse on June 6, 1773, charged with the "suspicion of the Murder of John Donaldson." She was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to hang, but in an unprecedented action "the Whole Court recommended to the Governor [Fanny]

⁴⁷See Appendix K and G.

as a proper object of mercy."⁴⁸ The record does not include testimony, but it is clear that Fanny herself or the witnesses testifying in her defense were able to convince the justices that there were extenuating circumstances in the murder of John Donaldson for the justices to take such unprecedented action. The gentlemen justices, again were forced to recognize her humanity and make a judgment that she was ill treated by the man she murdered.

Unlike Mary Aggy, Natt, and Fanny most slaves entered the courtroom without protection and had no expectations of justice. Once accused and brought before the gentlemen justices slaves must have felt totally helpless as there was no protection to ensure a fair trial for them. Aside from being considered their master's property and stripped of a sense of humanity and equality there was no legal counsel for slaves and they were denied the right to a jury trial. They were at the mercy of the gentlemen justices who were seated on the high bench to judge and sentence them for their alleged felonies.

⁴⁸York County Court Order Book, JO-3 (1772-1774) 284.

CONCLUSION

PERCEPTIONS AND REALITIES OF SLAVE CRIME IN YORK COUNTY

The specter of Negro rebellion presented an appalling world turned upside down, a crazy nonsense world of black over white, an anti-community which was the direct negation of the community as white men knew it. As one Virginian put it, Negro insurrection threatened 'their lives, liberties, properties, and every other human blessing.' The proper ordering was at stake."¹

Thomas Cox, a free white man from Charles Parish, was examined by the York County Court on the "Suspicion of endeavoring to raise a Conspiracy and Insurrection among the Slaves in this County" on July 17, 1775.² Cox pled not guilty to the charge, witnesses were examined, and the court decided that he was not guilty of the felony, but guilty of

¹Winthrop Jordan, White over Black (Baltimore, Maryland, 1968) 114. Quotations from Pinkney's Williamsburg Virginia Gazette, August 31, 1775.

²Thomas Cox was the third generation of the Cox family to live in Charles Parish. Other than the charge of July 17, 1775, he does not appear in the York County Records except for the three times in 1771 when he was charged with "absenting himself from church."

a "misdemeanor lending to a breach of the Peace." He was ordered to serve one year in prison or give Security for one year's good behavior and to "keep the Peace towards all his Majesty's Leige People for one Year."³

Thomas Cox's arrest occurred shortly after Governor Dunmore had seized the gunpowder from the Public Magazine in Williamsburg on April 20, 1775, creating great public fear of slave insurrection and rebellion in Virginia communities from that spring through the Revolution. Ironically the threat in July of 1775 came not from a slave, but from Thomas Cox who was a free white man. Fears of particular persons instigating a slave revolt were now not centered only on the enslaved persons.

On April 21, 1775, the Supplement to the Virginia Gazette reported on the Militia Law that had been newly created by the Delegates to the Virginia Convention who expressed the fear that "the widest danger . . . of invasion or insurrection"⁴ promoted the stronger regulations. There were real anxiety among white masters that Lord Dunmore would free slaves who would flee to the British side.

The next day, April 22, 1775, the Common Council of Williamsburg addressed Lord Dunmore on his seizure of the powder expressing their alarm and arguing that the gunpowder was to be kept at the Powder Magazine specifically

³York County Court Order Book, OP4 (1774-1784).

⁴Virginia Gazette, P 21 Ap 75s41.

for the protection and security of the country, by arming thereout such of the militia as might be necessary in cases of invasions and insurrections . . . [and that] we have too much reason to believe that some wicked and designing persons have instilled the most diabolical notions into the minds of our slaves, and that therefore the utmost attentions to our internal security is become more necessary."⁵

On May 3, 1775, Lord Dunmore issued a Proclamation attempting to justify his seizure of the gunpowder. He referred to "the apprehensions which seemed to prevail throughout this whole country of an intended insurrections of the slaves, that had been seen in large numbers, in the night time, about the magazine"⁶ thereby removing the gunpowder from their reach.

Shortly after seizing the powder Lord Dunmore fled to a British man of war in the York River and later established his military base in Norfolk. During that time his forces raided plantations along Virginia's rivers taking slaves and

⁵Virginia Gazette, D 22Ap75:23

The address goes on to make reference to "an insurrection in a neighboring county. . ."

⁶Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia) Vol. VI., June 20, 1754 - May 3, 1775, p. 582. It is interesting to note that the Powder Magazine was in the James City County section of the city and if arrests were made on the site the cases would have been tried in the James City County Court whose records do not survive.

supplies and causing great distress among Virginia planters and slaveholders. In November of 1775 he issued his famous Proclamation offering freedom to all slaves who would flee to him and fight against their rebellious masters.⁷ This Proclamation was a direct threat to all Virginia slaveholders. At least 800 slaves, including some Williamsburg slaves, left their masters and fled to the British side before and during the Revolution. Not only did some masters lose some slaves, but the fear of slave insurrection and social disorder was rampant.⁸

Despite the acute anxiety of a slave revolt throughout this revolutionary period there was not a single white person who lost his life in a slave rebellion in Virginia.⁹ In addition from 1700 to 1780 there was not a single conviction of a slave for instigating a slave rebellion or insurrection in York County. This fact is especially significant because the county included over half of the

⁷Billings, Selby, and Tate, Colonial Virginia--A History (White Plains, New York, 1986) 343.

⁸"Dunmore's proclamation revealed the extent to which blacks glimpsed the prospect of the freedom denied them by the Virginia leadership . . . Nor did the example of the hardship, disease, and death that so many Virginia black fugitives suffered during Dunmore's last days in Virginia deter thousands of other slaves from fleeing to the British side whenever British forces were operating in Virginia," Billings, Selby, and Tate, Colonial Virginia: A History (White Plains, New York, 1986),

⁹Edmund Morgan, American Slavery American Freedom (New York, 1975) 309.

city of Williamsburg which was the colonial center for much of the revolutionary activity and home to a large and strong African-American community where property crimes had increased dramatically since the 1750s.

Prosecutions of property crimes adjusted to the population growth of slaves in the county grew substantially during the 1700 to 1780 period. From 1700 to 1729 the rate per 1,000 adults was 0.12, but the rate increased to 2.42 from 1750 to 1780. The security of individual masters and their slave society, however, was not threatened by more violent crime directed against them after 1740. In fact the rate of conviction for violent crimes fell from 8% for the 1700 to 1729 period to 3.5% for the 1750 to 1780 period when there was such a dramatic increase in prosecutions and convictions of slave felons for theft.

Only one white person died as a result of slave crime in York County, and the extenuating circumstances of that case prompted the court to reduce the charge to manslaughter and to issue a plea for mercy for the convicted. The slaveholder's authority in York County, with the possible exception of the three cases of arson (two of which occurred before 1730), one case of suspected rape, and one case of attempted poisoning and murder was not challenged by slaves committing violence against those who held them in bondage.

The absence of a single conviction of a slave for suspected insurrection or rebellion in York County from 1700

to 1780 clearly demonstrates that slaves were not attempting to overthrow their masters. It is especially significant because York County embraced two important urban areas where it was more likely for group actions among slaves to be planned and executed.

The white community after 1730, however, was threatened by a significant increase in property crimes--breaking and entering and burglary. Most of that suspected crime was allegedly committed in Williamsburg and Yorktown or by slaves who were owned by Williamsburg masters. The property crime rate increased significantly as Williamsburg doubled its population from 1750 to 1775. The growing opportunity for crime in urban areas where valuable goods were centralized and strategically available for theft and redistribution influenced the increased rate of suspected property crime. The concentration of wealth, the presence of a densely settled black community, which was largely enslaved, and relatively easy access to that wealth offered opportunities to slaves for criminal activity and made whites more vulnerable to crimes against their property in Williamsburg and Yorktown than in the countryside.

The increase in the prosecution rate prompted the gentlemen justices after 1750 to condemn to death a proportionally larger number of convicted slave felons charged with breaking and entering and burglary than they had in the preceding fifty years when after 1732 more slaves

were granted Benefit of Clergy for similar crimes.

Governor Francis Faquier granted pardons to eight condemned slaves from 1759 through 1768 mediating some of the harsher punishments for slaves. Slaves crime, according to the prosecution rate, did not abate as harsher punishments were given by the gentlemen justices. In fact the greater number of hangings seemed to coincide with an even greater increase of¹⁰ontradiction in which slaves and master were caught where a slave was defined as chattel property but held responsible for his behavior as a human being denied all natural rights. The experiences acted out in the courtroom expressed the terrible "conflict, fear, and accommodation" that existed in all slave societies.

On the auction block in Williamsburg or Yorktown the slave was stripped of his human identity and forcibly removed from his own family, community, and country. The slave was isolated and powerless as his identity was defined by the bidders and masters who made their choice of what chattel property they wished to purchase. In a court of oyer and terminer, however, the accused slave felons forced the gentlemen justices to regard them as human beings. By being accused of a felony the court acknowledged the free will of the slave in the commission of that crime, and by submitting him to a trial some form of ritual was acted out

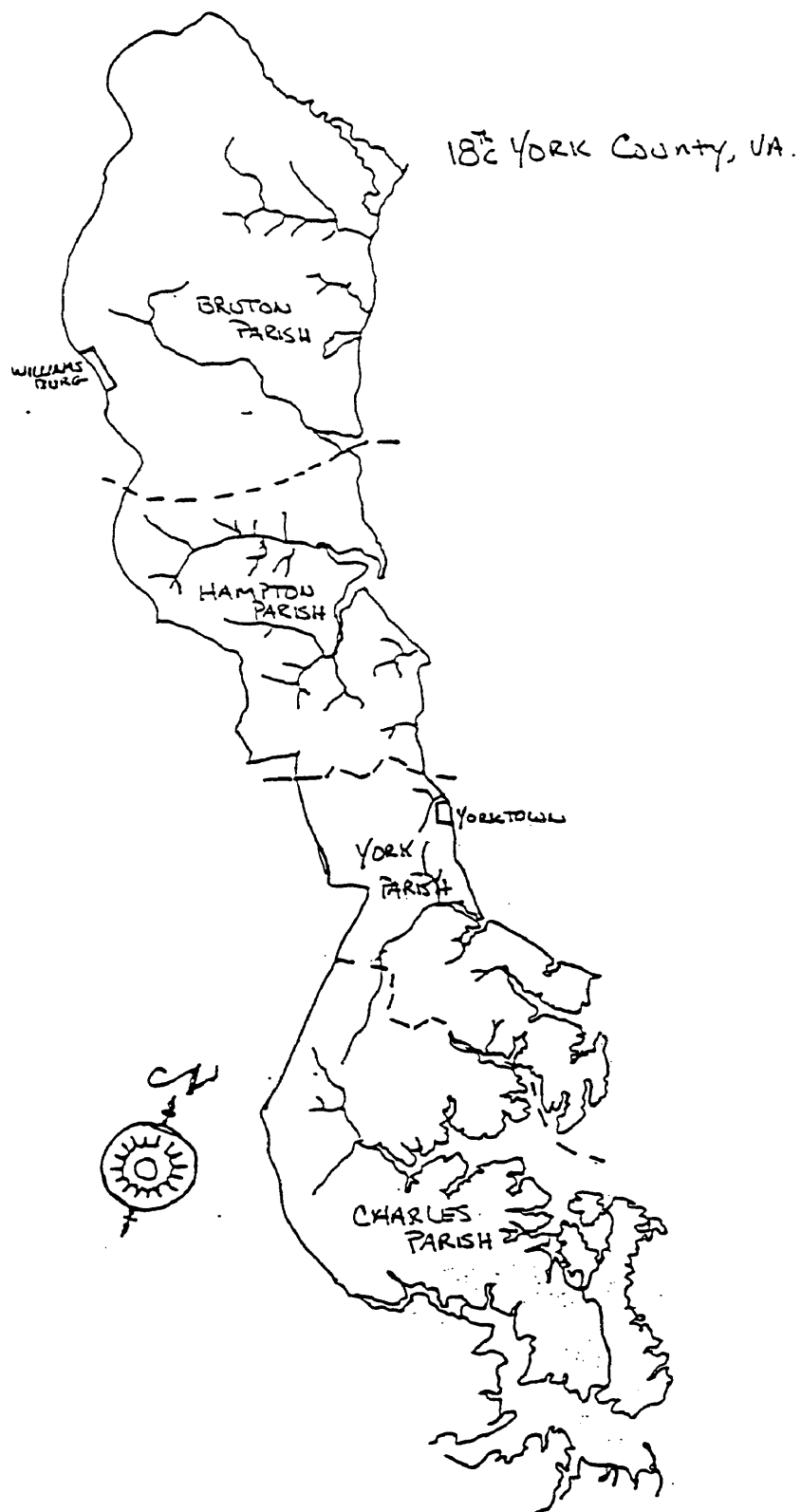
¹⁰Rhys Issacs, The Transformation of Virginia (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1982) 94.

on behalf of the slaveholding community and the slave himself.

Did York County slaves consciously or unconsciously act out Hegel's theory that through the act of committing crimes against their masters and their property they thereby gained control over their masters? Did the ritual of the court proceedings offer an unique challenge for some slaves? Was this not a way to challenge their masters and the community thereby combatting the experience of being a slave who felt that "permanent, violent domination of natally alienated and generally dishonored persons?"¹¹

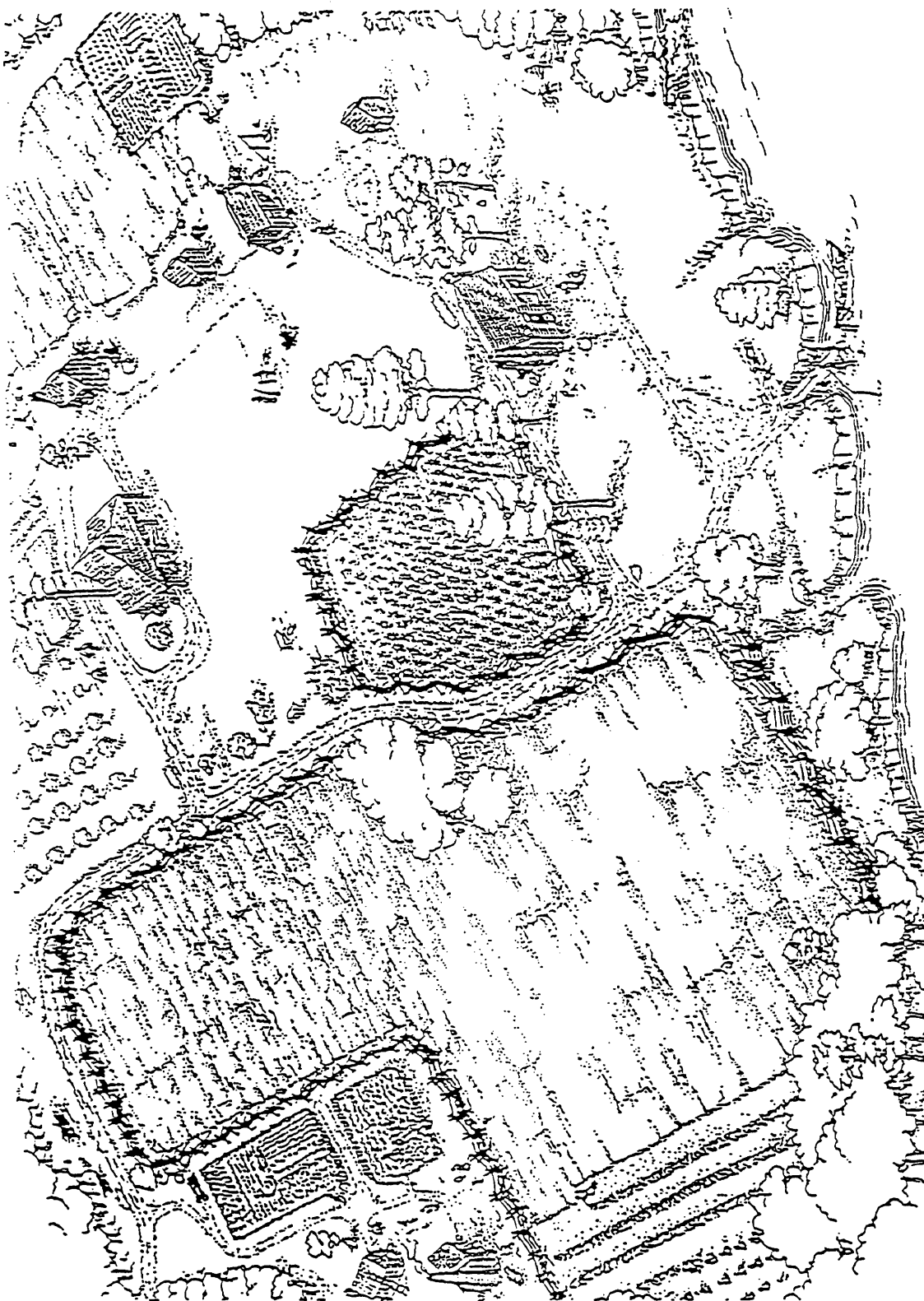
¹¹Orlando Patterson, Slavery and Social Death Cambridge and London, 1982) 13.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY YORK COUNTY VIRGINIA

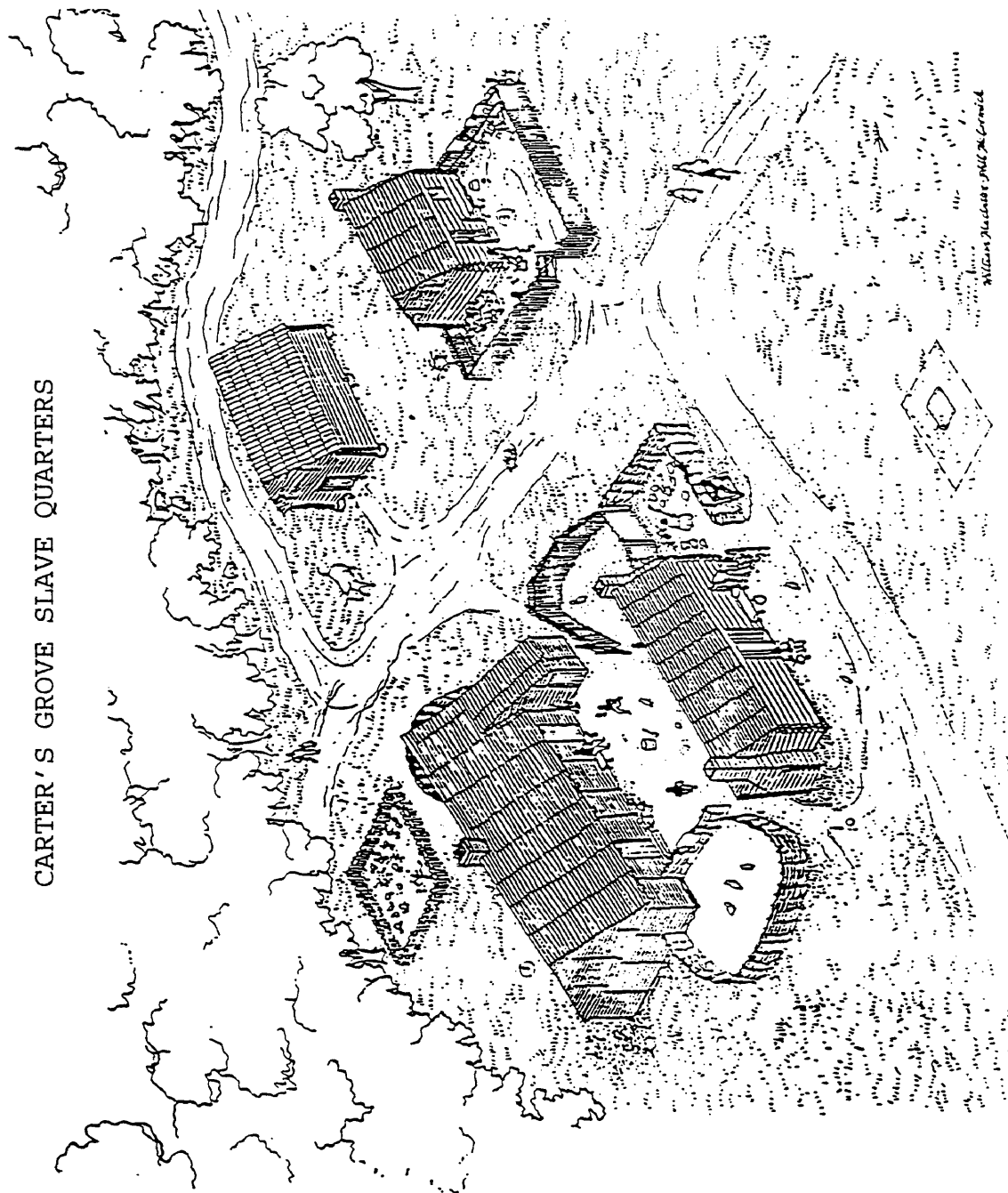


APPENDIX B

COLONIAL VIRGINIA MIDDLELING PLANTER'S SITE



APPENDIX C
CARTER'S GROVE SLAVE QUARTERS



THE FRENCHMAN'S MAP OF WILLIAMSBURG VIRGINIA; 1781

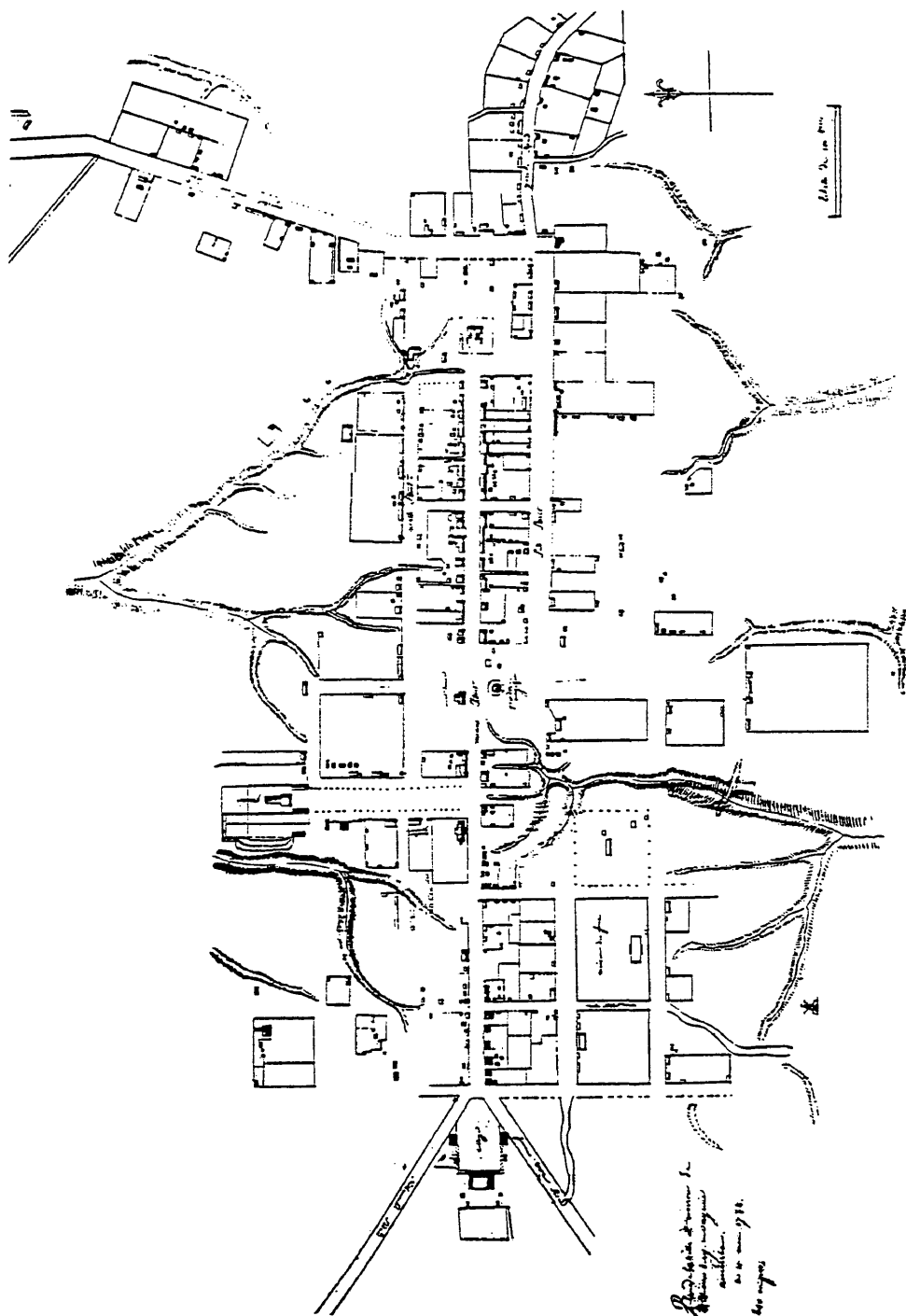


Figure 100. Plan of Williamsburg, Virginia: 1782

APPENDIX E

GENTLEMEN JUSTICES SERVING ON OYER AND TERMINER COURTS

JUSTICES	DATE	1720 1730	1730 1740	1740 1750	1750 1760	1760 1770	1770 1780	TOTAL
BARBAR, THOMAS	1704	1						1
MEAD, ROBERT	1704	1						1
NULTING, THOMAS	1704	1						1
PINKETHMAN, WILLIAM	1704	1						1
BLAIR, ARCHIBALD	1724	1	4					5
HOLLOWAY, JOHN	1724	1						1
SHELTON, WILLIAM	1724	1						1
STARK, WILLIAM	1724	2	2					4
SMITH, LAWRENCE	1724	3	12					15
BLAIR, JOHN, ESQ	1728	2	6					8
BUCHNER, JOHN	1728	2	8	3				13
TIMSON, SAMUEL	1728	1						1
AMBLER, RICHARD	1729	1	8					9
NELSON, THOMAS	1729	1	8	4				13
TABB, EDWARDS	1729	1	1					2
ARMISTEAD, ROBERT	1729	1	1					2
HAYWARD, FRANCES	1730		8	5				13

JUSTICES	DATE	1720 1730	1730 1740	1740 1750	1750 1760	1760 1770	1770 1780	TOTAL
NELSON, WILLIAM	1734		8	2				10
SMITH, EDMUND	1734		2	9				11
DIGGES, EDWARD	1735		3					3
ROBINSON, ANTHONY	1735		1					1
HARMER, JOHN	1736		4					4
KING, WALTER	1737		2	2				4
BALLARD, JOHN	1738		1	5				6
DAVIDSON, ROBERT	1738		1					1
COBBS, THOMAS	1738		1					1
REACE, SAMUEL	1738		1	10	12			23
DICKSON, ARTHUR	1740			1	1			2
GILMER, GEORGE	1740			2	9			11
GOODWIN, JOHN	1740			14	20	1		35
MOORE, DANIEL	1740			4				4
ARMISTEAD, ELLISON	1742			1				1
BURWELL, NATHANIEL	1744			1				1
REYNOLDS, THOMAS	1747			5	10			15
SHIELD, ROBERT JR.	1747			3	15	14	2	34
REYNOLDS, WILLIAMS	1747			8	8			16
								1
								22

JUSTICES	DATE	1720 1730	1730 1740	1740 1750	1750 1760	1760 1770	1770 1780	TOTAL
ALLEN, WILLIAM	1748		3			6		9
WORMLEY, JOHN	1749		1					1
NORTON, JOHN	1750			19	14			33
DIGGES, DUDLEY	1751			14	17		13	44
HOLT, JOHN	1751			9				9
RANDOLPH, PEYTON	1751			6	5		4	15
WALLER, BENJAMIN	1752			1	1			2
SMITH, ROBERT	1759			4	16			20
AMBLER, EDWARD	1759			2	3			5
PRENTIS, JOHN	1759			1	3			4
CHISMAN, THOMAS	1760				6			6
DAVID, JAMESON	1760				19		11	30
TARPLEY, JAMES	1760				3			3
ROBINSON, ANTHONY	1760				6		1	7
COCKE, JAMES	1762				1			1
GRAVES, WILLIAM	1762				1			1
NELSON, THOMAS, JR. 1763					13		16	29
BURWELL, NATHANIEL 1763					1			1

JUSTICES	DATE	1720 1730	1730 1740	1740 1750	1750 1760	1760 1770	1770 1780	TOTAL
ROBINSON, JOHN	1779						3	3
PASTEUR, WILLIAM	1780						3	3
MOORE, MERRITT	1780						1	1
POWELL, BENJAMIN	1780						2	2
TOTALS:		17	21	17	13	23	25	

JUSTICES SERVING FOR MORE THAN FIFTEEN TRIALS

<u>Justices</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Times Served</u>
Lawrence Smith	5/18/1724	15
John Goodwin	2/18/1740 to 10/4/1760	35
Robert Shield, Jr.	2/14/1747 to 6/17/1771	34
Thomas Reynolds	2/14/1747	15
John Norton	1750 to 2/10/1764	33
Dudley Digges	3/7/1751 to 11/21/1774	44
Peyton Randolph	3/17/1751	15
Robert Smith	2/15/1759	23
David Jameson	7/21/1760 to 11/18/1776	30
Thomas Nelson, Jr.	3/21/1763 to 5/23/1780	29
Nicholas Dickson	8/29/1763-	15

APPENDIX G

JUSTICES DOMINATING OYER AND TERMINER COURTS

TRIAL DATES	DOMINANT JUSTICES	SHIFT TO NEW JUSTICES
1750-1754:		
1750	JOHN GOODWIN, JOHN NORTON, ROBERT SHIELD	
3/7/1753	PEYTON RANDOLPH, JOHN GOODWIN, DUDLEY DIGGES, JOHN NORTON AND ROBERT SHIELDS	
3/7/1751	PEYTON RANDOLPH, JOHN GOODWIN, DUDELY DIGGES, JOHN NORTON AND ROBERT SHIELDS	
3/7/1751	PEYTON RANDOLPH, JOHN GOODWIN, DUDLEY DIGGES, JOHN NORTON, AND ROBERT SHIELDS	
6/8/1751	JOHN GOODWIN, DUDLEY DIGGES, JOHN NORTON, AND ROBERT SHIELDS	
6/20/1751	JOHN GOODWIN, DUDLEY DIGGES, AND ROBERT SHIELDS	
1/20/1752	BENJAMIN WALLER	
6/4/1752	PEYTON RANDOLPH AND JOHN GOODWIN	
6/29/1752	JOHN GOODWIN, DUDELY DIGGES AND JOHN NORTON	
1/31/1753	JOHN GOODWIN AND JOHN NORTON	
4/4/1753	JOHN GOODWIN, DUDLEY DIGGES AND JOHN NORTON	
9/18/1753	PEYTON RANDOLPH, JOHN GOODWIN, DUDLEY DIGGES, JOHN NORTON AND ROBERT SHIELD	
12/31/1753	JOHN GOODWIN AND ROBERT SHIELD	

TRIAL DATES	DOMINANT JUSTICES	SHIFT TO NEW JUSTICES
1/21/1754	JOHN GOODWIN AND ROBERT SHIELD	
4/21/1760	JOHN NORTON AND ROBERT SHIELD	ROBERT SMITH
7/21/1760	PEYTON RANDOLPH, ROBERT SHIELD AND ROBERT SMITH	DAVID JAMESON
10/4/1760	JOHN GOODWIN, DUDLEY DIGGES, JOHN NORTON AND DAVID JAMESON	
2/1761	DUDLEY DIGGES, JOHN NORTON, ROBERT SMITH, AND DAVID JAMESON	
2/1761	DUDLEY DIGGES, JOHN NORTON, ROBERT SMITH AND DAVID JAMESON	
10/19/1761	ROBERT SHIELD, ROBERT SMITH, AND DAVID JAMESON	
11/21/1761	JOHN NORTON, ROBERT SHIELD AND ROBERT SMITH	
6/21/1762	PEYTON RANDOLPH AND ROBERT SHIELD	
3/21/1763	PEYTON RANDOLPH, JOHN NORTON, ROBERT SHIELD	THOMAS NELSON, JR.
4/23/1763	DUDLEY DIGGES, JOHN NORTON, ROBERT SMITH AND DAVID JAMESON	
5/28/1763	JOHN NORTON, ROBERT SHIELD, AND ROBERT SMITH	
8/15/1763	PEYTON RANDOLPH, DUDLEY DIGGES AND JOHN NORTON	
8/29/1763	JOHN NORTON AND DAVID JAMESON	JAMES PRIDE AND
NICHOLAS DICKSON		
9/19/1763	JOHN NORTON AND NICHOLAS DICKSON	
2/10/1764	DUDLEY DIGGES, JOHN NORTON, ROBERT SHIELD,	

TRIAL DATES	DOMINANT JUSTICES	SHIFT TO NEW JUSTICES
2/10/1764	THOMAS NELSON, AND JAMES PRICE DUDLEY DIGGES, JOHN NORTON, ROBERT SHIELD, THOMAS NELSON AND JAMES PRICE (BENJAMIN WALLER)	
12/17/1764		
4/20/1765	DUDLEY DIGGES, THOMAS NELSON, DAVID JAMESON AND NICHOLAS DICKSON	
5/18/1762	DUDLEY DIGGES, THOMAS NELSON, JAMES PRICE AND NICHOLAS DICKSON	
9/22/1765	DAVID JAMESON AND NICHOLAS DICKSON	
11/9/1765	DUDLEY DIGGES, THOMAS NELSON, DAVID JAMESON AND NICHOLAS DICKSON	
3/12/1766	DUDLEY DIGGES, THOMAS NELSON, DAVID JAMESON AND NICHOLAS DICKSON	
5/10/1766	ROBERT SHIELD, JAMES PRICE AND NICHOLAS DICKSON	
5/19/1766	ROBERT SHIELD, DAVID JAMESON, JAMES PRICE AND NICHOLAS DICKSON	
6/2/1766	DUDLEY DIGGES, THOMAS NELSON AND NICHOLAS DICKSON	
6/21/1766	DUDLEY DIGGES, DAVID JAMESON, JAMES PRICE AND NICHOLAS DICKSON	
11/17/1766	ROBERT SHIELD, DAVID JAMESON, JAMES PRICE AND NICHOLAS DICKSON	
2/12/1768	ROBERT SHIELD, DAVID JAMESON AND THOMAS NELSON	
3/17/1768	ROBERT SHIELD, THOMAS NELSON AND DUDLEY DIGGES	

TRIAL DATES	DOMINANT JUSTICES	SHIFT TO NEW JUSTICES
3/1/1769	ROBERT SHIELD, ROBERT SMITH AND DAVID JAMESON	
10/11/1769	DUDLEY DIGGES, THOMAS NELSON AND DAVID JAMESON	
10/11/1769	DUDLEY DIGGES, THOMAS NELSON AND DAVID JAMESON	
10/11/1769	DUDLEY DIGGES, THOMAS NELSON AND DAVID JAMESON	

APPENDIX H

YEARLY RATE OF SLAVE FELONY CASES

DATES OF TRIALS	TRIALS PER YEAR	TOTAL # OF TRIALS	SLAVES TRIED PER YEAR	TOTAL # OF SLAVES TRIED	M	F	TOTAL m	TOTAL f
DATES:								
1700-1705		1	1			1		
1705-1730		3	3	3 SLAVES	1	2	1	2
1730-1734								
1730	3		3		2	1		
1731	1		2		1	1		
1732	2		2		2			
1733	1		1		1			
1734	1		1		1			
1.6 PER YEAR T. 1.8 PER YEAR S.	8	11 TRIALS	9	12 SLAVES	7	2	8	4
1735-1739								
1735	2		4		4			
1736	1		1		1			
1737	4		4		4			
1738	1		1		1			
1739	0		0		0			
1.6 TRIALS 2.0 SLAVES	8	19 TRIALS	10	22 SLAVES	10		18M	4F
1740-1744								
1740	2		2		1	1		
1741	0		0		0			

DATES OF TRIALS	TRIALS PER YEAR	TOTAL # OF TRIALS	SLAVES TRIED PER YEAR	TOTAL # OF SLAVES TRIED	M	F	TOTAL m	TOTAL f
1742	1		2				1	1
1743	4		5				4	1
1744	2		2				2	
	9		11				8	3
1.8 TRIALS							26M	7F
2.2 SLAVES		28 TRIALS		33 SLAVES				
1745-1749								
1745	2		3				3	
1746	0							
1747	1		2				2	
1748	1		1					1
1749	3		6				6	
	7		12				11	1
1.4 TRIALS		35 TRIALS		45 SLAVES			37M	8F
2.4 SLAVES								
1750-1754								
1750	1		1				1	
1751	4		5				5	
1752	4		6				4	2
1753	3		8				8	
1754	2		2				2	
	14		22				20	2
2.8 TRIALS		49 TRIALS		67 SLAVES			57M	10F
4.4 SLAVES								
1755-1759							5	
1759	4		5					
	4		5				5	
N.A.								
N.A.		53 TRIALS		72 SLAVES			62M	10F

	DATES OF TRIALS	TRIALS PER YEAR	TOTAL # OF TRIALS	SLAVES TRIED PER YEAR	TOTAL # OF SLAVES TRIED	M	F	TOTAL m	TOTAL f
1760-1764	1760	3		3		3			
	1761	3		4		4			
	1762	1		1		1			
	1763	6		6		6			
	1764	3		5		5			
3.2 TRIALS 3.8 SLAVES		16	69 TRIALS	19	91 SLAVES	19		81M	10F
1765-1769	1765	4		6		6			
	1766	6		11		11			
+3 TRIALS	1767	3		5		4	1		
	1768	2		3		3			
	1769	3		4		4			
3.6 TRIALS 5.8 SLAVES		18	87 TRIALS	29	12 SLAVES	28	1	109M	11F
1770-1774	1770	3		4		4			
	1771	3		5		4	1		
	1772	3		4		4			
	1773	4		4		3	1		
	1774	3		3		3			
3.2 TRIALS 4.0 SLAVES		16	103 TRIALS	20	140 SLAVES	18	2	127M	13F

DATES OF TRIALS	TRIALS PER YEAR	TOTAL # OF TRIALS	SLAVES TRIED PER YEAR	TOTAL # OF SLAVES TRIED	M	F	TOTAL m	TOTAL f
1775-1780								
1775	2		3		3			
1776	3		3		3			
1777	2		2		2			
1778	0		0		0			
1779	1		1		1			
1780	3		4		4			
	11	115 TRIALS	13	154 SLAVES	13		140M	14F
1.8 TRIALS 2.6 SLAVES								

APPENDIX I

OCCURANCE OF SLAVE FELONY TRIALS

DATES	TOTAL NUMBER TRIALS	TOTAL NUMBER SLAVES	MALE	FEMALE
1700-1705	1 TRIAL	1 SLAVES		
1705-1729	3 TRIALS	3 SLAVES	1	2
1730-1734	8 TRIALS	9 SLAVES	7	2
1735-1739	8 TRIALS	10 SLAVES	10	0
1740-1744	9 TRAILS	11 SLAVES	8	3
1745-1749	7 TRIALS	12 SLAVES	11	1
1750-1754	14 TRAILS	22 SLAVES	20	2
1755-1759	4 TRIALS	5 SLAVES	5	0
1760-1764	16 TRIALS	19 SLAVES	19	0
1765-1769	18 TRIALS	29 SLAVES	28	1
1770-1774	16 TRIALS	20 SLAVES	18	2
1775-1780	11 TRIALS	113 SLAVES	13	
	115 TRIALS	154 SLAVES	140MALES	14 FEMALES

APPENDIX J

REPEAT SLAVE FELONY OFFENDERS

Masters:

James Geddy
William Nelson
James Shields
William Drummond
John Norton
John Wormley
Francis Peter
Daniel Moore
Lawson Burfoot
John Chisman
Elizabeth Mongham
John Mayo
Thomas Smith
Edward Nicholson
John Brown

Slaves:

Kircandy (2)
Quash (2)
Ripon (2), Hannibal (2), Tom (2)
Nat (3)
Tom (2)
Putney (2)
Scipio (2)
Peter (3)
George (2)
Peter (2), Paul (2)
Moody (3)
James (3)
Matt (2)
Durham (2)
Sam (2)

APPENDIX K

CRIMES, VERDICTS AND PUNISHMENTS

DATE	SLAVE	CRIME	PLACE OF CRIME	VICTIM	PLEA	VERDICT	PUNISHMENT
1. 1704	Bridgette	Arson: Master	Bruton	John Page, Master	N	G	Hanged
2. 5/18/24	Jack	Theft: 60s	Bruton	Baldwin Matthews, Master and two others	No trial		
3. 4/4/28	Sarah	Arson	Williamsburg	?	N	G	Hanged
4. 5/19/28	Kate	Theft: 20s	Bruton		N	G	20 lashes
5. 10/14/30	Will	Murder	Yorkhampton	Peg, Slave	N	G	Hanged
6. 11/17/30	Mary Aggy	Theft: 40s	Williamsburg	Anne Sullivan, Mistress (widow)	N	G	General Court
7. 12/22/30	Martin	Theft: 300.	Williamsburg	Anne Sullivan, Mistress (widow)	N	G	39 lashes
8. 8/6/31	Belinda Sheeton	? ?	?				30 lashes 30 lashes
9. 3/15/32	Ben	?	Williamsburg	John Blair	N	N	Discharged
10. 8/17/32	Edward Gym	?	?				
11. 1/15/33	Toby	Assault	?	John Hanford Albright Wagstaff	No plea		30 lashes
12. 12/9/34	John Macony	Theft:	?	Phillip Lightfoot	N	N	Dismissed

DATE	SLAVE	CRIME	PLACE OF CRIME	VICTIM	PLEA	VERDICT	PUNISHMENT
13. 5/19/35	Ned	Breaking and entering	?	John Faison	N	N	Running stolen goods 39 lashes + 18
14. 12/15/35	Peter Tom	Theft: Hog 1	?			G	39 lashes
15. 1736	Davy	Theft: Hog 1	?			G	39 lashes
16. 11/13/36	Daniel	Felony	?				Burnt on left hand +39 lashes
17. 1/31/37	Pompey	Felony	?		G	G	Burnt on left hand +39 lashes
18. 5/10/37	Jack	Theft	?	Charles Leoffes	N	N	Discharged
19. 5/20/37	Toney 1	Theft	?		N	N	Discharged
20. 5/20/37	Toney 2	Theft: 5s.	?		N	G	Burnt on left hand +39 lashes sent to Henrico County
21. 6/25/38	Will	Theft	?		G	G	Hanged
22. 2/18/40	Kircandy	Theft	Williamsburg	John Coke	N	N	Discharged
23. 6/16/40	Sarah	Theft	?		N	N	Discharged

DATE	SLAVE	CRIME	PLACE OF CRIME	VICTIM	PLEA	VERDICT	PUNISHMENT
24. 6/2/42	Quash Nanny	Theft: 40s Theft: 40s	?	Thos. Dickinson		G G	Acc. Burnt on left hand +21 lashes
25. 3/4/43	Sam	Theft: 18s	?	Filmer Wills	G	G	Burnt on left hand +30 lashes
26. 9/3/43	Quash	Theft	Ship/Yorktown	Dr. J. Payras	N	N	Discharged
27. 11/21/43	Sam	Theft: Hog	? John Glass	N	G	39 lashes	
28. 11/28/43	Bradford Sophy	Theft: Horses	Williamsburg	Wm. Jerring	N	G	Hanged Charges dropped
29. 8/3/44	Sampson	Theft: 50s	?	James Bales	Confessed	G	Pled Benefit of Clergy in N.C.; Hanged
30. 8/30/44	Kircandy	Theft: 5s	Williamsburg	Sarah Packe (widow)	Confessed	G	2nd Off. Hanged
31. 3/5/45	Gabey Pompey	Theft: 20s Money	Yorktown	Ed. Digges	N N	N G	Dismissed Burnt on left hand +39 +25 lashes
32. 3/18/45	Frank	Theft: Cloth	Yorktown	Richard Ambler	N	N	Discharged

DATE	SLAVE	CRIME	PLACE OF CRIME	VICTIM	PLEA	VERDICT	PUNISHMENT
33. 2/14/47	Will	Theft: £15.	Williamsburg	Th. Hornsby and	G	G	Burnt on left hand +39 lashes
	Cambridge	Linen, purses stockings, shoes		A. Burrell	N	G	Burnt on left hand +39 lashes
34. 8/15/48	Juba	Theft: 35. Fabric	Yorktown	Th. Penman	N	N	Dismissed
35. 4/12/49	Bob Will	Theft: £113 textiles & hats	Yorkhampton	G. Montgomery	N N	G N	Hanged 39 lashes for misdemeanor
36. 1749	David Staffor Achilles	Theft 200 lbs. tobacco	Williamsburg	Henry Hacker	N	G	30 lashes 30 lashes ?
37. 7/25/49	Sam	Theft: 16s Butter	Yorkhampton	Ann Cosby	N	G	Burnt on left hand ? lashes
38. 1750	Gaby	Theft: £50 120 gal. of wine	Yorkhampton	Wm. Stevenson	N	NG of breaking and entering Guilty of stealing	Burnt on left hand +39 lashes
39. 3/7/51	Matt	Theft: 40s wine, rum	Williamsburg	Ann Shields	N	G	Hanged
40. 3/7/51	Natt	Theft: 30s	Williamsburg	Jane Vobe	N	N	39 lashes for misdemeanor
	Simon	5 gal. rum, candles			N	G	Hanged

DATE	SLAVE	CRIME	PLACE OF CRIME	VICTIM	PLEA	VERDICT	PUNISHMENT
41. 6/8/51	Natt	Theft: 70s stockings, rugs	Williamsburg	John Hyndman	N	N	Discharged
42. 6/20/51	Josiah	Theft: 40s rum & candles	Williamsburg	Jane Vobe	N	G	Hanged
43. 1/20/52	Frank Dinah Phillis	Theft/Shoat			N N N	G G N	39 lashes 39 lashes Dismissed
44. 6/4/52	Jemmy	Rape	Yorkhampton	Catherine Hamford	N	G	Hanged
45. 6/29/52	Bristol	Theft: 40s Linen	Yorkhampton	Archibald Ritchie	N	G	Burnt on left hand +30 lashes
46. 6/29/52	Dick	Sundry Offenses	?		No trial		
47. 1/31/53	Essex	Theft: £8 10s	Williamsburg	P. Randolph	N	G	Burnt on left hand +25 lashes Discharged
	Nat	Table Cloths			N	N	
48. 1/31/53	Harry Tom	Insurrection and rebellion	Yorkhampton	The slave society	N	N	Discharged Discharged
49. 9/18/53	Peter	Theft: 41s linens & clothes	Yorkhampton	Martha Goosley	N	NG of burglary Guilty of felony	Burnt on left hand +39 lashes

DATE	SLAVE	CRIME	PLACE OF CRIME	VICTIM	PLEA	VERDICT	PUNISHMENT
50. 12/31/53	Duncan Rob Abraham Tom Putney	theft £3 165s Clothing/Textiles	Yorktown	John Norton	No prosecution No prosecution No prosecution N N	No prosecution No prosecution No prosecution G G	Hanged Hanged
51. 1/21/53	Tom Putney	Escape from prison Escape from prison	Yorktown				Hanged Hanged
52. 2/15/59	John Irwin	Theft: 75s ribbon & coined silver	Williamsburg	John Tarpley	N	NG of burglery Guilty of felony	Burnt on left hand +15 lashes
53. 4/14/59	Scipio	Theft: 60s Bacon	Yorkhampton	John Gibbon	N	N	Misbehaved 39 lashes
54. 4/30/59	Issac	Theft: 5s axe	Williamsburg	James Southall	N	NG of burglery Guilty of felony	Burnt on left hand +35 lashes
55. 5/9/59	George Jemmy	Theft: 10s meal	Bruton	Eliz. Pierce Matt Moody	N G	G G	Hanged; Pardoned Hanged; Pardoned
56. 4/21/60	Scipio	Theft: 7s meal, dishes	Yorkhampton	Ed. Digges	N	G	Hanged; Pardoned
57. 7/21/60	Lewis	Breaking and entering	Yorktown	John Norton	N	G	Hanged; Pardoned

DATE	SLAVE	CRIME	PLACE OF CRIME	VICTIM	PLEA	VERDICT	PUNISHMENT
58. 10/4/60	Ripon	Theft: £6 30s treasury bills clothes, blankets	Williamsburg	James Scrivener	N	G	Hanged; Pardoned
59. 2/?/61	Sam	Theft: 60s clothing	Williamsburg	Richard Charlton	G	G	Burnt on left hand + lashes, constable
60. 2/?/61	Man	Theft: 41s	Charles	Ed. Tabb	N	NG of	
	Jemmy	Fabric, ribbon			N	burglery Guilty of felony	Burnt on left hand
61. 11/21/61	James	Theft: 40s Rum, sugar	Yorkhampton	James Pride	N	G	Hanged
62. 6/21/62	Sam	Theft: 20s Spanish silver, shoes, shoe buckles	Williamsburg	Wm. Pasteur	N	G	Hanged; Pardoned
63. 3/23/63	James	Theft: 28s turkeys, ducks	Bruton	Mary Cobbs	N	G	Burnt on left hand +39 lashes
64. 4/23/63	Jemmy	Theft: 40s man's coat	Yorkhampton	Issac Hobday	N	N	Discharged
65. 5/28/63	Cuffy	Poison, murder	Williamsburg	Walker Lenox	N	G	Hanged
66. 8/15/63	Peter	Theft: 25s	Charles	John Henesy	N	G	Burnt on left hand +15 lashes

DATE	SLAVE	CRIME	PLACE OF CRIME	VICTIM	PLEA	VERDICT	PUNISHMENT
67. 8/29/63	Charles	Theft: 15s meal	Charles	Charles Hobson	N	G	Burnt on left hand
68. 9/19/63	America	Theft: 10s child's bed	Yorktown	Wm. Nelson	N	NG of burglary Guilty of felony	Burnt on left hand +39 lashes
69. 2/10/64	Moses	Theft: 13s clothing, food	King's Highway	Eliz. Doran	N	N	Discharged
70. 2/10/64	Tom	Theft: 50s	Bruton	Eliz. Tarpley	N	G	Burnt on left hand +15 lashes
	Jack	1 steer			N	G	Burnt on left hand +12 lashes
71. 12/17/64	Weymouth Jeffrey	Theft: 20s Hog	Charles	Ed. Curtis	G G	G G	39 lashes 39 lashes
72. 4/20/65	Sam	Theft: 15s meal bag, tobacco Dung Hill Fowl	Bruton	Geo. Washington	N	N	Discharged
73. 5/18/65	Sam Charles Tom	Theft: 120s clothing current money	Williamsburg	Nath. Walthoe	N N N	G G G	Hanged Hanged Hanged
74. 9/25/65	Will	Theft: 100s clothing, bedding	Bruton	Ben Eggleston	G	G	Hanged; Pardoned
75. 11/9/65	George	Theft: 55s linen	Yorkhampton	Jac Ambler	N	G	Burnt on +39 lashes

DATE	SLAVE	CRIME	PLACE OF CRIME	VICTIM	PLEA	VERDICT	PUNISHMENT
76. 3/16/66	Sam	Theft: £10	Yorkhampton	Seymour Powell	N	N	Misbehaved 35 lashes
	Cornelius	Rum and brandy			N	N	Misbehaved 35 lashes
	Jack				N	N	Misbehaved 39 lashes
77. 5/10/66	Matt	Theft: £5 25s purse, money	Yorkhampton	Anne Pacey	N	G	Hanged; Pardoned
78. 5/19/66	Peter	Theft: 20s 1 sheep	Charles	Richard Sclater	N	G	Pled before hanged
79. 6/2/66	Will Ned Zacharius	Theft: £10 Bacon	Yorkhampton	James Burrell	N No prosecution N	G G	Hanged Hanged
80. 6/21/66	Sam Dan	Theft: 80s Clothes, bedding	Charles	Rob. Presson	N N	N*** G	Misdemeanor Hanged
81. 11/17/66	Peter	Escape from prison	Yorktown	No plea			Hanged
82. 10/4/67	David	Theft: 93s	Williamsburg	Th. Everard	N	N	Misdemeanor 39 lashes
	Sarah	Linens			N	G	Hanged
83. 12/29/67	Ripon George Durham	Theft ? 20 bushels of corn	Williamsburg	Rob. Anderson	N	N	Discharged
84. 12/29/67	George	Theft: £5	?	James Martin	N	G	Burnt on left hand
	Durham	20 gal. rum			N	G	+39 lashes Burnt on left hand

DATE	SLAVE	CRIME	PLACE OF CRIME	VICTIM	PLEA	VERDICT	PUNISHMENT
85. 2/12/68	Lewis	Theft: 80s	Bruton	Sarah Coke	N	NG of burglary Guilty of felony	Burnt on left hand +15 lashes Discharged
	Philip	Liquor, soap sweetmeats			N	N	
86. 3/17/68	Matthew	Theft: 226s Cloth, clothing	Yorkhampton	John Davie	N	G	Hanged
87. 1/3/69	Paul	Theft: 15s	Yorktown	Wm. Nelson	N	G	Burnt on left hand +25 lashes
	Peter	1 sheep			N	G	Burnt on left hand +25 lashes
88. 10/11/69	Allaka	Theft: 50s	Yorkhampton	Wm. Baker. Wm. Moody	N	NG of burglary Guilty of felony	Burnt on left hand +20 lashes
89. 10/11/69	Jack	Theft: 61s cloth, clothes	Yorkhampton	John Dunford	N	N	But runaway
90. 1/23/70	Issac David	Arson	Williamsburg	James Hubbard	N N	G N	Hanged Dangerous, so imprisoned
91. 2/19/70	Ben	Theft: 2 pigs	?	John Howard	N	G	25 lashes
92. 4/28/70	Pant	Theft: paper money	?	S. Durfy	N	N	Acquitted

DATE	SLAVE	CRIME	PLACE OF CRIME	VICTIM	PLEA	VERDICT	PUNISHMENT
93. 1/5/71	Scipio Lucy	Theft £20 current money	?	John Hyland	N N	N N	Acquitted Acquitted
94. 6/17/71	Paul Joe	Theft: £4 31s Rum, cloth	Yorkhampton	Wm. Cary	N N	G NG of burglery Guilty of felony	Hanged Burnt on left hand +30 lashes
95. 11/18/71	Peter	Theft: hog	Charles	John Chisman	N	G	20 lashes
96. 4/4/72	Moody	Theft: 19 turkees	Williamsburg	Gov. Dunmore	N	G	9 lashes
97. 7/21/72	Mingo	Theft: 1 sheep	Williamsburg	Gov. Dunmore	N	G	Burnt on left hand +25 lashes
98. 12/22/72	Patrick	Theft	?	Mary Potter	N	NG of burglery Guilty of felony	Burnt on left hand +39 lashes 39 lashes for misdemeanor
99. 1/8/73	Sam	Rape	?	Molly, a mulatto	N	N	Discharged
100. 1/18/73	Jack	Theft: 40s clothing	Yorkhampton	George Riddel	N	G	Hanged
101. 6/5/73	Fanny	Murder	Williamsburg	John Donaldson	N	Guilty of manslaughter Requested mercy	Hanged

DATE	SLAVE	CRIME	PLACE OF CRIME	VICTIM	PLEA	VERDICT	PUNISHMENT
102. 8/30/73	Moody	Mutilation	?	Jack, a Negro	N		Misbehaved 39 lashes
103. 3/8/74	Hanibal	Theft: 23s 8 turkees	Williamsburg	Gov. Dunmore	N	G	Pled Benefit in James City County; Hanged
104. 9/15/74	Ned	Theft: £36 clothes, silver	Williamsburg	Simon Fraiser Ben Brown	N	G	Hanged
105. 11/21/74	Ben	Theft: 50s Leather	Yorkhampton	Thomas Pescod	N	N	Discharged
106. 3/29/75	Ned	Theft: 5s 2 turkees	Bruton	William Rose	N	G	Burnt on left hand
107. 6/29/75	Peter Paul	Theft calf	Charles	William Smith	N N	N N	Discharged Discharged
108. 8/19/76	James	Theft: 86s 1 guinea golden rings	Bruton	Serafino Formicola	N	G	Hanged
109. 10/21/76	James	Escape	Williamsburg				Hanged
110. 11/18/76	Frank	Felony	?				Discharged
111. 2/17/77	James	?	?				Hanged
112. 8/18/77	Lewis	Theft: £6 14s current money	?				Burnt on left hand +25 lashes

CONVICTED SLAVE FELONS SENTENCED TO HANG

Date: Slave: Crime and Monetary Value: Punishment:

1700-1729:

1704	Bridgette	Arson	Hanged
1728	Sarah	Arson	Hanged

1730-1739:

1730	Will	Murder of Slave	Hanged
1738	Will	Theft	Hanged

1740-1749:

1743	Bradford	Theft of 2 Horses	Hanged
1744	Sampson	Theft 50 s.	Hanged
1744	Kircandy	Theft £ 5	Hanged
1749	Bob	Theft £ 113	Hanged

1750-1759:

1751	Matt	Theft 40 s.	Hanged
1751	Simon	Theft 30 s.	Hanged
1751	Josiah	Theft 40 s.	Hanged
1752	Jemmy	Rape	Hanged
1753	Tom	Theft £ 3 165 s.	Hanged
	Putney		Hanged

1754-1759: Records are Missing

1759:	George	Theft 10 s.	Hanged/Pardon
	Jemmy		Hanged/Pardon

1760-1765:

1760	Scipio	Theft 7 s.	Hanged/Pardoned
1760	Lewis	Breaking/Entering	Hanged/Pardoned
1760	Ripon	Theft £6 30 s.	Hanged/Pardoned
1761	Davy	Theft £25	

1761	James	Theft 40 s.	Hanged	150
1762	Sam	Theft £3 20 s.	Hanged/Pardoned	
1763	Cuffy	Poison and Murder	Hanged	

1765-1769

1765	Sam	Theft 120 s.	Hanged
	Charles		Hanged
	Tom		Hanged
1765	Will	Theft 100 s.	Hanged/Pardoned
1766	Matt	Theft £5 25 s.	Hanged/Pardoned
1766	Peter	Theft 20 s.	Hanged
1766	Will	Theft £10	Hanged
	Ned		Hanged
1766	Dan	Theft 80 s.	Hanged
1768	Matthew	Theft 226 s.	Hanged

1770-1774:

1770	Issac	Arson	Hanged
1771	Paul	Theft £4 31 s.	Hanged
1773	Jack	Theft 40 s.	Hanged
1773	Fanny	Murder	Hanged (Mercy?)
1774	Hannibal	Theft 25 s.	Hanged
1774	Ned	Theft 5 s.	Hanged

1775-1780

1776	James	Theft 86 s.	Hanged
1780	Hannibal	Theft	Hanged
	Tom		Hanged
1780	Ben	Theft	Hanged ¹

¹ See Appendix K.

APPENDIX N

SLAVES, MASTERS AND VICTIMS

NO.	DATE	SLAVE	SEX	MASTER	RESIDENCE	VICTIM
1.	6/30/04	Bridgette		Mr. John Page	York	Mr. John Page
2.	5/18/24	Jack	M	Baldwin Matthews		
3.	4/4/28	Sarah, Mul.	F	Archibald Blair	York	
4.	5/19/29	Kate	F	Archibald Blair	York	
5.	10/10/30	Will	M	Laurence Smith	York	
6.	11/17/30	Mary Aggy	F	Anne Sullivant, Wid.	Wmsbg.	Anne Sullivan, Wid.
7.	12/22/30	Martin	M	Thomas Bray	York	Anne Sullivan, Wid.
8.	8/6/1731	Belinda Shuton	F M	Joshua Fry Henry Hacker		Wharton
9.	3/15/32	Ben	M	John Holloway	York	John Blair, Eog.
10.	8/17/32					
11.	1/15/33	Hay	M	William		John Hansford
12.	12/9/34	John Macony, Mul.	M	Philip Lightfoot		Philip Lightfoot
13.	5/19/35	Ned	M	Henry Robinson	Elizabeth City County	James Faison

14.	12/15/35	Peter Tom Davy	M	Comm. Blair Comm. Blair John Bryant	Wmsbg. Wmsbg.	
15.	11/13/36	Daniel	M	John Custis Esq.	Wmsbg.	
16.	1/31/36	Pomsey	M	Margaret Gordon	York	
17.	5/10/37	Jack	M	Anne Sullivan, Wid.	Wmsbg.	Alexander Kerr
18.	5/20/37	Toney	M	William Fuller	Henrico	Charles Hansford
19.	6/25/38	Will	M	John Taylor	York	
20.	2/18/40	Kircandy	M	James Geddy	W.	John Coke
21.	6/16/40	Sarah	F	John Dailey		
22.	6/2/42	Quash Namy	M F	William Nelson Ishmail Moody	Yorktown Yorktown	Thomas Dickinson W.
23.	3/4/43	Sam	M	John Buckner	York	Filmer Mills Warwick County
24.	9/3/43	Quash	M	William Nelson	Yorktown	Dr. John Payras
25.	11/21/43	Sam	M	Landon Carter, Esq.	Lancaster	John Glass
26.	11/28/43	Bradford Sophy	M F	John Tyler William Derring	James City Wmsbg.	William Derring, W.
27.	8/3/44	Sampson	M	Robert Shield	York	James Bales

28.	8/30/44	Kircandy	M	Est. of James Geddy	Wmsbg.	Sarah Packe, W.
29.	3/5/45	Gabey Pompey	M M	Edward Digges Edward Digges	Yorktown Yorktown	Edward Digges
30.	3/18/45	Frank	M	Ane Gibbons	Yorktown	Richard Ambler
31.	2/14/47	Will Cambridge	M M	John Thompson George Russell	Mariner	Thomas Hornsby Armistead Burrell Gov. Gooch, W.
32.	8/15/48	Juba	M	James Shield	Wmsbg.	Thomas Penman
33.	4/12/49	Bob Will	M M	John Perrin, Mer. John Perrin, Mer.	Gloucester Gloucester	Wm. Montgonery
34.	1/7/49	David	M	Thomas Cobbs	York	Est. Q. Henry
35.	7/25/49	Sam	M	Thomas Bray	James City	Ann Cosby W.
36.	1750	Gaby	M	Frances Lee	Warwick	Wm. Skepphensor Yorkhampton
37.	3/7/51	Matt	M	Hale John Blair	Wmsbg.	Ann Shields Bruton Parish
38.	6/8/51	Nat	M.	William Drummond	James City	John Hyndman Merchant
39.	7/3/51	Nat Simon	M M	William Drummond Ann Shields	James City Wmsbg.	Jane Vobe W.

40.	6/20/52	Josiah Lee Juba #32	M	Dr. John Amson	Wmsbg.	Jane Vobe, Mar. H. W.
41.	1/20/52	Frank Dinah Phillis	M F F	Thomas Munford Thomas Munford Thomas Munford		William Allen
42.	6/4/52	Jemmy	M	Thomas Reynolds	Yorktown	Catherine and Lucy Hansford, Spens
43.	6/29/52	Bristol	M	Thomas Reynolds	Yorktown	Arch. Ritchie merchant
44.	6/29/52	Dick	M	Thomas Reynolds	Yorktown	No Trial
45.	1/3/53 Nat. Meel	Essex	M	Matthew Pierce	York	Peyton Randolph
46.	4/4/53	Harry Tom	M M	John Goodwin, Jr. Est. of Peter Goodwin	Yorktown Yorktown	
47.	9/18/53	Peter	M	Honable William ?	Yorktown	Martha Cooper Yorkhampton
48.	12/3/53	Duncan Bob Abraham Tom Putney	M M M M M	John Norton John Norton John Norton John Norton John Wormley	Yorktown Yorktown Yorktown Yorktown York	John Norton Warehouse Yorktown

49.	1/23/54	Tom Putney	M	John Norton John Norton	Yorktown Yorktown	Escape from ?
50.	2/15/59	John Irwin	M	Hugh Orr	Wmsbg.	John Tarpley, Mer.
51.	4/14/59	Scipio	M	Francis Peters	Charles Parish	John Gibbon Yorkhampton
52.	4/30/59	Issac	M	Samuel Spurr	Wmsbg.	Es. Charlton W. James Southall
53.	5/9/59	George Jemmy	M M	Phillip Ludwell Phillip Ludwell	J.C.C. J.C.C.	Daniel Custis Mill House
54.	4/21/60	Scipio	M	Francis Peters	Charles Parish	Edward Digges
55.	7/21/60	Lewis	M	Francis Lee	Warwick	John Norton
56.	10/4/60	Ripon	M	James Shield	Bruton Parish	Joseph Scrueener, Jr.
57.	2/1761	Sam	M	Peter Lyons	Hanover	Richard Charlton, Jr.
58.	2/1761	Man Jemmy	M M	Thomas Tomer Charles Minnes	York York	Edward Tabb, Mer. Charles Parish
59.	10/19/61	Daer Dick	M M	Frances Nelson Wid. Anne Gibbons, Wid.	Yorktown York	Hable Wm Nelson Yorktown

60.	11/21/61	James	M	Patrick Matthews	York	James Pride, Wa? Yorkhampton
61.	6/21/62	William Scot Alease Sam	M	Wm. Winston	Hanover	William Pasteur W.
62.	3/21/63	James	M	Mary Eaton	Bruton	Mary Cobbs, Wed.
63.	4/23/63	Jemmy	M	Daniel Moore	York	Issac Hobbday Yorkhampton
64.	5/28/63	Cuffy	M	Rev'd James Fox	Gloucester	Waltoer Lenox Fam.
65.	8/15/63	Peter	M	Daniel Moore	York	John Hennese Charles Parish
66.	8/29/63	Charles	M	Miles Cary	Warwick	Charles Hobson Mill House of John and Henry ?
67.	9/19/63	America	M	Richard Ambler	York	H. Wm. Nelson Yorktown
68.	2/10/64	Moses	M	Peyton Randolph	Wmsbg.	Eliz. Doran
69.	2/10/64	Tom	M	James Shield	Bruton Parish	Eliz. Tarpley, Wid.
		Jack	M	James Shield	Bruton Parish	York County

70.	12/17/64	Wumouth Jeffrey	M	Thomas Chisman Thomas Chisman	Charles Parish Charles Parish	Edmund Curtis Charles
71.	4/20/65	Sam	M	John Brown	Wmsbg.	George Washington Mill House
72.	5/18/65	Sam Charles Tom	M M M	John Brown James Carter Wm. Wilkinson	Wmsbg. Wmsbg. J.C.C.	Bruton ? W.
73.	9/25/65	Will	M	Edward Bowcock	York	Benjamin Eggles
74.	11/9/65	George	M	Edward Digges	Yorktown	Jacquelin ?
75.	3/12/66	Sam Cornelius Jack	M M M	Wm. Sheldon Est. Wm. Sheldon Est. Wm. Sheldon Est.	Charles Parish Charles Parish Charles Parish	? Warehouse Yorkhampton
76.	5/10/66	Matt	M	Thomas Smith	York	Anne Pacey Yorkhampton
77.	5/19/66	Peter	M	Daniel Moore	York	Rich. Slater Charles Parish
78.	6/2/66	Will Nat Zacharias	M M M	Lewis Burwell Lewis Burwell Lewis Burwell	Gloucester Gloucester Gloucester	James Burwell Yorkhampton
79.	6/21/66	Sam Dan	M M	Warner Lewis Thomas Whiting	Gloucester Gloucester	Robert Presson Charles
80.	11/17/66	Peter	M	Daniel Moore	York	

81.	10/4/67	David Sarah	M F	M. John Saunders Wm. Carter	Wmsbg. Wmsbg.	Thomas Everard W
82.	12/29/67	Rippon George Durham	M M M	James Shield Lawson Burfoot, Est. Edward Nicholson	Bruton Parish ?	Robert Anderson
83.		George Durham	M M	Lawson Burfoot, Est. Edward Nicholson		James Martin Bruton
84.	12/2/68	Leurs Philip	M M	Wm. Pearson Est. of John Coke	Wmsbg. Wmsbg.	Sarah Coke Bruton
85.	3/17/68	Matthew Mul.	M	Thomas Smith	York	John Daere
86.	3/1/69	Paul Peter	M M	John Chisman John Chisman	Charles Parish Charles Parish	Wm. Nelson Yorktown
87.	10/11/69	Allaka	M	Benjamin Powell	Wmsbg.	Wm. Baker William Moody Yorkhampton
88.	10/11/69	Jack	M	Samuel Johnson	N. Carolina	John Dunford Yorkhampton
89.	2/19/70	Ben	M	Thomas Nelson, Jr.	Yorktown	John Howard
90.	1/23/70	Issac David	M M	Cath. Hubbard James Hubbard	Wmsbg. Wmsbg.	James Hubbard
91.	4/28/70	Pant	M	Wm. Potter	?	?
92.	1/5/71	Scipio	M	Cath Hubbard	Wmsbg.	John Hyland

		Lucy	M	Cath Hubbard	Wmsbg.	
93.	6/17/71	Paul Joe	M M	George Chaplin Samuel Meredith	Yorktown ?	Wm. Cary Mer. Yorkhampton
94.	11/18/71	Peter	M	Robert Howard	?	John Chesman
95.	4/4/72	Moody	M	Elizabeth Monghan	York	Jack slave of Andrew ?
96.	7/21/72	Mingo	M	Benjamin Powell	Wmsbg.	Gov. Dunmore
97.	12/22/72	Patrick Moody	M M	Wm. Baptist Eliz. Monghan	York	Mary Potter
98.	1/18/73	Sam	M	Wm. Eggleston	?	Mary Meel property of ?
99.	1/18/73	Jack	M	John Murray	York	George Riddell Yorkhampton
100.	6/5/73	Fanny	F	Rich Charlton	Wmsbg.	John Donaldson
101.	8/30/73	Moody	M	Eliz. Monghan	York	Jack Slaves Andrew Estate
102.	3/8/74	Hannibal	M	James Shields	Bruton Parish	Gov. Dunmore
103.	9/15/74	Ned	M	John Randolph	Wmsbg.	Chris Campbell

104.	11/21/74	Ben	M	John Tosmer	York	Thomas Pescod ?
105.	3/29/75	Ned	M	Eliz. Davis, Orp.	?	Wm Rose Bruton
106.	6/29/75	Peter Paul	M M	John Chisman John Chisman	Charles Parish Charles Parish	Wm. Smeth
107.	8/19/76	James	M	John Mayo	Cumberland	? Bruton
108.	10/21/76	James	M	John Mayo	Cumberland	Escape
109.	11/18/76	Frank	M	James Brown	?	
110.	2/17/77	James	M	John Mayo	Cumberland	Hanged?
111.	8/18/77	Leers	M	Simon Hollier	?	Thomas Archer
112.	11/15/79	Emanuel	M	John Draper	Wmsbg.	Wm. Goodson Bruton
113.	2/21/80	Adonis	M	Peter Moyer	?	
114.	4/17/80	Hannibal Tom	M M	James Shield James Shield	Bruton Parish Bruton Parish	Wm. Goodson Storehouse
115.	5/23/80	Ben	M	Howard Pool	?	John Shephard York

ACCUSED SLAVE FELONS OF GENTLEMEN JUSTICES

Dates:	Justices:	Slaves:
1700-1740:		
1728 and 29:	Archibald Blair	Sarah and Kate
1730:	Lawrence Smith	Will
1732:	John Holloway	Ben
1740-1750:		
1742 and 43	William Nelson	Quash (2 trials)
1743:	John Buckner	Sam
1744:	Robert Shield, Jr.	Sampson
1750-1760:		
1752:	Thomas Reynolds	Jemmy, Bristol, Dick
1753:	John Goodwin	Harry
1753:	John Norton	Duncan, Bob, Abraham, and Tom
1760-1770:		
1764:	Peyton Randolph	Moses
1770-1780:		
1770:	Thomas Nelson, Jr.	Ben

APPENDIX P

SLAVES BELONGING TO MASTERS OF OTHER COUNTIES

Slave:	Master:	Residence of the Master:
Ned	Henry Robinson	Elizabeth City County
Toney	William Fuller	Henrico
Bradford	John Tyler	James City County
Will	John Thompson	Mariner
Bob	John Perrin	Gloucester
Will	John Perrin	Gloucester
Achilles	John Micou	Essex
Gaby	Francis Lee	Warwick
Nat (3)	William Drummond	James City County
George	Phillip Ludwell	James City County
Jemmy	Phillip Ludwell	James City County
Lewis	Francis Lee	Warwick
Sam	Peter Lyons	Hanover
Wm Scot	William Winston	Hanover
Cuffy	Rev'd James Fox	Gloucester
Charles	Miles Cary	Warwick
Sam (2)	John Brown	James City County
Tom	William Wilkinson	James City County
Will	Lewis Burwell	Gloucester
Ned	Lewis Burwell	Gloucester
Zacharias	Lewis Burwell	Gloucester
Sam	Warner Lewis	Gloucester
Dan	Thomas Whiting	Gloucester
Jack	Samuel Johnson	North Carolina
James (3)	John Mayo	Cumberland

APPENDIX Q

VICTIMS OF SLAVE CRIME IN YORK COUNTY

Slave Crimes Against Male Heads of Household:	67
Theft 65	
Murder 2	
Slave Crimes Against Women:	20
Theft 19	
Rape 1	
Slave Crimes Against Their Own Masters or Mistresses:	11
Theft: 8	
Arson: 3	
Slave Crimes Against Merchants:	9
Theft 9	
Slave Crimes Against Millers:	5
Theft 5	
Slave Crimes Against Fellow Slaves:	3
Rape: 1	
Mutilation: 1	
Murder: 1	
Slave Crimes Against Mariners:	1
Theft 1	

APPENDIX R

NUMBER OF MASTER'S SLAVES BROUGHT TO TRIAL

One Accused Slave Felon Tried: 80 Masters

69 Masters: One Slave Tried
8 Masters: One Slave Tried Twice for Separate
Crimes
3 Masters: One Slave Tried Three Times for
Separate Crimes

Two Accused Slave Felons Tried: 14 Masters

10 Masters: Two Slaves Each Tried Once
2 Masters: Two Slaves Tried; One Tried Twice
1 Master: Two Slaves Tried; One Tried Three
Times
1 Master: Two Slaves Tried; Each Slave Tried
Twice

Three Accused Slave Felons Tried: 6 Masters

6 Masters: Three Slaves Tried Once

Four or More Accused Slave Felons Tried: 2 Masters

1 Master: Four Slaves Tried; One Tried Twice
1 Master: Five Slaves Tried; Three Twice

APPENDIX S

CRIMES COMMITTED BY SINGLE AND GROUPS OF SLAVES

Dates:	Trials Held:	Single Slave:	Group of Slaves:
1704-1729:	4	100%	
1730-1739:	12	85%	14%
1740-1749:	9	60%	40%
1750-1759:	11	61%	38% ¹
1760-1769:	22	67%	33%
1770-1780:	21	81%	19%

¹ Five accused slave felons were brought to trial for the same crime.

PROFILES OF GENTLEMEN JUSTICES

Thomas Nelson, Jr. (1738-1788), was a prominent member of the powerful merchant family that developed the port of Yorktown in the first decades of the eighteenth century. A merchant, entrepreneur, and planter, Nelson was a resident of Yorktown and owned large tracts of land in Yorkhampton Parish and in at least four other Virginia counties. His father, William Nelson, was a powerful merchant listed as having 38 tithables in Yorkhampton Parish in 1758. In October of 1770 William Nelson became the President of the Governor's Council and acting governor of Virginia. Thomas Nelson, Jr. held multiple governmental offices at the county and colony level--vestryman, justice of the peace from 1762 to 1783, burgess from 1761 to 1775, Virginia representative to the Virginia Convention and Continental Congress, and later Governor of Virginia in 1781.

Thomas Jameson (1724-1793) was a Yorktown merchant and property holder who served as a justice of the peace from 1759 to 1787. He was also a vestryman. After the outbreak of the Revolution he became a senator, councilor, and later Lt. Governor of Virginia.

John Norton (1719-1777) was the only one of the six justices who was not a native born Virginian. His family, however, had long and extensive commercial connections with leading families in the colony like the Nelsons in Yorktown. As a member of the great English merchant house of John Norton and Sons, he immigrated to Virginia in the 1740's and stayed in Virginia as a merchant until 1764 when he returned to England. He purchased large amounts of land in Yorktown and throughout Virginia and was listed as having thirteen tithables in Yorkhampton Parish in 1758. He was a justice of the peace from 1747 to 1764 and he was elected a burgess from York County from 1748 to 1755.

Robert Shield, Jr. (1717-1773), a merchant and planter, owned land both in Yorkhampton and Charles Parishes. He served as a vestryman, a member of the militia, and a justice of the peace from 1747 to 1773 during which time he was at times appointed sheriff of the county. His family had settled in York County as early as 1624. At his death his estate was appraised at £ 2289 and he left more than eighteen slaves.

John Goodwin (1701-1767) served in the militia and as justice of the peace from 1738 to 1761 during which time he was sheriff of the county for several years. His family had been settled in York County since at least 1667 where they

had held prominent county positions. His estate was valued at £ 1465 and he owned 36 slaves when he died.

Dudley Digges (1730-1790), a planter and merchant, was apparently a Yorktown resident who was listed in the 1758 tithable list as having seven tithables in Yorkhampton Parish. His family had also been in York County by 1665. He was a justice of the peace from 1752 to 1766 and was elected a burgess from 1752 to 1775. Later he represented York County at the Virginia Convention and was a Councilor.

APPENDIX U

OYER AND TERMINER TRIALS HELD IN YORK COUNTY, VIRGINIA

1700 To 1780

Town	1704/06/30
Trial Date	Thomas Nutting
Justices	Thomas Barbar
	William Pinkethman
	Robert Mead
Slave	Bridgett
Gender	Female
Master	Mr. John Page
Master's Residence	York County
Date of Crime	1704/06/01
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	Bruton Parish
Victim	John Page
Crime Description	Arson
	"not having the fear of God before her eyes, but being moved by the instigation of the devil did then and there w/force and armses to wit w/firebrands & severall other combustible matters feloniously set fire to & burnt several barnes stables & outhouses. . . did then and there feloniously burne and w/fire consume severall goods wares and mercantidizes"
Plea	Guilty
Witnesses	Frances Jennings
	Mary Chiswell
	Alice Chiswell
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Hanged
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1724/05/18
Justices	John Holloway Lawrence Smith Archibald Blair William Sheldon William Stark
Slave	Jack
Gender	Male
Master	1. Baldwin Matthews, Gent
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	1. 1721/02/14 2. 1723/11/16 3. 1724/04/10
Time Crime Committe	1. night 2. 3. night
Place of Crime	1. Mill house of James Bates, Bruton Parish 2. Quarter House of Baldwin Matthews 3. Mansion House of Philmon Jackson
Victim	1. James Bates 2. Baldwin Mathews ("late master") 3. Philmon Jackson
Crime Description	1. Theft; "Feloniously and burglariously did break and enter" 1 bag Indian meal, 10 s. 2. Theft; "felonioulsy and burglariously did break and enter" coat, hat, shirt, stockings, and blanket, 40 s. 3. Theft; "felonioulsy and burglariously did break and enter" 1 bag Indian meal, 10 s.
Plea	"he was either not capable or obsinately refused to plead"
Witnesses	
Verdict	"Court would not proceed to trial--remanded to prison"
Plea Benefit of AA Punishment	
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1728/04/04
Justices	Lawrence Smith William Stark John Blair Samuel Timson John Buckner
Slave	Sarah, a Mulatto Slave
Gender	Female
Master	Archibald Blair
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	1728/03/15
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	Mansion House
Victim	
Crime Description	Arson; "with force and Arms of her Malice aforethought did set on fire and part of the Mansion house voluntarily and feloniously burn"
Plea	Guilty
Witnesses	
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	"Remanded to prison" and "hanged until dead"
Date of Hanging	1728/04/17
Value of Slave	£ 18
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1729/05/19
Justices	Lawrence Smith Thomas Nelson Edward Tabb Robert Armistead Richard Ambler John Buckner
Slave	Kate
Gender	Female
Master	Archibald Blair, Gent
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	1729/05/09
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	Mansion House of Elizabeth Russell of Bruton Parish
Victim	Elizabeth Russell
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and arms feloniously did break and enter" 1 silk apron, 20 s. 10 cambrick handkerchielfs, £ 4
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	"20 lashes on the bare back at the public whipping post" at Yorktown and Williamsburg"
Date of Hanging	Discharged
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1730/10/14
Justices	Thomas Nelson Edward Tabb Archibald Bliar Richard Ambler John Blair Frances Hayward
Slave	Will
Gender	Male
Master	Col. Lawrence Smith
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	1730/09/29
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	Yorkhampton Parish
Victim	Pegg, a Negro Slave Master; Lawrence Smith
Crime Description	Assault and Murder; "Assault did make and with a piece of iron . . . strike . . . mortal wound on the back part of the head . . . skull broken . . . instantly died
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Hanged
Date of Hanging	1730/10/17
Value of Slave	£ 5
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1730/11/07
Justices	Archibald Blair William Stark Richard Ambler Frances Hayward
Slave	Marry Aggy
Gender	Female
Master	Anne Sullivant
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	1730/09/20
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	The dwelling house of Anne Sullivant, Bruton Parish
Victim	Anne Sullivant
Crime Description	Theft; [Torn} 40 s.
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Next Court 1730/11/28 Mary Aggy "prayed the benefit of the Statute made in the third and fourth years of William and Mary Court in doubt therefore sent it to the General Court"
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1730/12/22
Justices	Lawrence Smith Thomas Nelson William Stark John Buckner
Slave	Martin
Gender	Male
Master	Thomas Bray, Gent.
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	1730/11/10
Time Crime Committe	1-2 A.M.
Place of Crime	Mansion House of Anne Sullivant, Widow, Bruton Parish
Victim	Anne Sullivant, Widow
Crime Description	Theft; "Feloniously and burglarly did break and enter" 2 Midlings of bacon, 10 s. 2 pieces of beef, 5 s. 2 gallons of rum and 2 gallons of wine, 15 s.
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	39 lashes at public whipping post in Yorktown and Williamsburg
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1731/08/06
Justices	Lawrence Smith Thomas Nelson John Blair Richard Ambler John Buckner
Slave	Belinda
	Shuton (accessory)
Gender	Female
	Male
Master	Belinda; Joshua Fry, Gent Shuton; Henry Hacker
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	[Torn]
Time Crime Committe	[Torn]
Place of Crime	[Torn]
Victim	Wharton, Gent
Crime Description	
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	
Verdict	Not Guilty But "Belinda and Shuton endeavored to conceal money"
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	30 lashes at Yorktown and Williamsburg
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	Williamsburg
Trial Date	1732/03/15
Justices	Lawrence Smith Thomas Nelson Archibald Blair Richard Ambler John Buckner Frances Hayward
Slave	Ben
Gender	Male
Master	John Holloway, Esqr.
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	Mansion House of John Blair, Esqr.
Victim	John Blair, Esqr.
Crime Description	Theft; "stealing sundry Goods"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	
Verdict	Not Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Discharged
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1732/08/17
Justices	Lawrence Smith Archibald Blair Richard Ambler Frances Hayward Edmund Gwyn
Slave	
Gender	
Master	
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	
Crime Description	
Plea	
Witnesses	
Verdict	
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	OWI (18) 2
Trial Date	1733/01/15
Justices	John Blair, Esqr
Slave	Toby
Gender	Male
Master	William Hewitt
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	1733/01/08
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	John Hansford and Albrightan Wagstaff
Crime Description	Assault; "Assaulted Hansford and Wagstaff several times"
Plea	No plea
Witnesses	
Verdict	No formal veredict
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Same Day; 30 lashes well laid on Prison overnight Next Day; 30 lashes well laid on "To be kept in close prison till Master or Security Enter into Bond for fifty pounds for one year and one day."
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town		OWI (18) 159	847-2
Trial Date	1734/12/09		
Justices	Lawrence Smith		
	Thomas Nelson		
	Edmund Smith		
	William Nelson, Gent.		
Slave	Jon Macony, Mulatto		
Gender	Male		
Master	Philip Lightfoot, Esqr.		
Master's Residence			
Date of Crime			
Time Crime Committe			
Place of Crime	York County		
Victim	Philip Lightfoot, Esqr.		
Crime Description	Theft; Breaking and Entering and Burglary		
	"took 276 pounds current money of Virginia"		
Plea	Not Guilty		
Witnesses			
Verdict	Not Guilty		
Plea Benefit of AA			
Punishment	Dismissed		
Date of Hanging			
Value of Slave			
Pardon			

Town		OWI (18) 189 984
Trial Date	1735/05/19	
Justices	Lawrence Smith	
	Robert Armistead	
	John Blair	
	Edward Digges	
	John Buckner	
	Edmund Smith	
	William Nelson	
	Anthony Robinson	
Slave	Ned	
Gender	Male	
Master	Henry Robinson	
Master's Residence	Elizabeth City County	
Date of Crime		
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Mansion House of James Faison	
Victim	James Faison	
Crime Description	Breaking: "feloniously Breaking and Entering"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Examination	
Verdict	Not Guilty but Guilty of "running away and receiving stolen goods"	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	39 lashes	
	"thereafter he be carried to the Gaol of this County and from thence to be conveyed from Constable to Constable until he shall be delivered to his said Master and it is further Ord. that each Constable give him 15 lashes"	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town	Williamsburg	OWI (18) 242
	1260	
Trial Date	1735/12/15	
Justices		
Slave	Peter	
	Tom	
	Davy	
Gender	Male	
	Male	
	Male	
Master	Peter: Mr. Commissary Blair	
	Tom: Mr. Commissary	
	Davy; John Brynat	
Master's Residence	Blair; Williamsburg	
	Blair; Williamsburg	
Date of Crime		
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime		
Victim		
Crime Description	Theft; "Suspicion of hog stealing"	
Plea		
Witnesses	Examination	
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA	39 lashes	
Punishment		
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		OWI (18) 337	1784
Trial Date	1736/01/31		
Justices	Lawrence Smith ERichard Ambler John Buckner Francis Hayward William Nelson John Harmer		
Slave	Pompey		
Gender	Male		
Master	Margaret Gordon, Widow, York County		
Master's Residence			
Date of Crime			
Time Crime Committe			
Place of Crime			
Victim			
Crime Description	Felony; "Suspicion of Felony"		
Plea	Not Guilty		
Witnesses	Examination		
Verdict	Guilty		
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Burnt in the left hand w/the Letter T and 39 lashes		
Date of Hanging			
Value of Slave			
Pardon			

Town	OWI (18) 321 1655
Trial Date	1736/11/13
Justices	Lawrence Smith John Blair William Nelson John Harmer
Slave	Daniel
Gender	Male
Master	John Custis Esqr.
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	
Crime Description	Felony; "Suspicion of felony"
Plea	Gulity
Witnesses	Examination
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	"Burnt in the left hand w/the Letter T and afterwards that he be carried to the public whipping post and that the Sheriff there give him 39 Lashes on his bare back well lay'd on"
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town		OWI (18) 357	1905
Trial Date	1737/05/10		
Justices	Lawrence Smith Edward Digges John Buckner Francis Hayward William Nelson John Harmer Walter King		
Slave	Jack		
Gender	Male		
Master	Anne Sullivant, Widow		
Master's Residence	York County		
Date of Crime			
Time Crime Committe			
Place of Crime	Store of Alexander Kerr		
Victim	Charles Leoffes		
Crime Description	Theft; "Suspicion of breaking open a Celllar Window . . . feloniously carry away 2 bottles of about 3 pints rum		
Plea	Not Guilty		
Witnesses	Examination		
Verdict	Not Guilty		
Plea Benefit of AA			
Punishment			
Date of Hanging			
Value of Slave			
Pardon			

Town		OWI (18) 373	1979
Trial Date	1737/05/20		
Justices	Lawrence Smith Thomas Nelson Richard Ambler William Nelson		
Slave	Toney (otherwise called Dick otherwise called Jack)		
Gender	Male		
Master	William Fuller		
Master's Residence	Henrico County		
Date of Crime			
Time Crime Committe			
Place of Crime	Mansion House of John Hansford		
Victim	John Hansford		
Crime Description	Theft; "breaking and entering . . . and taking from then divers goods"		
Plea	Not Guilty		
Witnesses	Examination		
Verdict	Not Guilty		
Plea Benefit of AA			
Punishment			
Date of Hanging			
Value of Slave			
Pardon			

Town	
Trial Date	1737/05/20 Another Indictment
Justices	
Slave	Toney
Gender	
Master	
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	Charles Hansford
Crime Description	Theft; "felonious taking an Ax valued at 5 s.
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	Examination
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Burnt in the left Hand (t) and 39 lashes "then be conveyed from constable to constable until he shall be brought to Wmsburg, and that he there receive on his bare back well laid on 39 lashes more at the public whipping post and then to be safely convey'd from Constable to Constable until he shall be delivered to His Master aforesd. in Henrico County.
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town		OWI (18) 431	2343
Trial Date	1738/06/25		
Justices	Lawrence Smith Thomas Nelson John Blair John Buckner Francis Hayward Robert Davidson Samuel Reade John Ballard Thomas Cobbs		
Slave	Will		
Gender	Male		
Master	John Taylor		
Master's Residence	York County		
Date of Crime			
Time Crime Committe			
Place of Crime			
Victim			
Crime Description	Burglary and felony		
Plea	Guilty		
Witnesses	Examination		
Verdict	Guilty		
Plea Benefit of AA			
Punishment	"he be carry'd from hence to the place from whence he came & from thence to the place of Execution & that there he be hanged by the Neck until he be dead"		
Date of Hanging			
Value of Slave	£ 40		
Pardon			

Town		CWI 918)	565	3010
Trial Date	1740/02/18			
Justices	John Buckner			
	Francess Hayward			
	George Gilmer			
	Samuel Reade			
	John Goodwin			
	Arthur Dickeson			
Slave	Kircandy			
Gender	Male			
Master	James Geddy			
Master's Residence	Williamsburg			
Date of Crime				
Time Crime Committe				
Place of Crime	Shop house of John Coke a Silver Smith			
Victim	John Coke			
Crime Description	Theft; "feloniously & Burgarly breaking and			
	Entering" and "taking thereout divers			
	Goods"			
Plea	Not Guilty			
Witnesses	Examination			
Verdict	Not Guilty			
Plea Benefit of AA				
Punishment	Discharged			
Date of Hanging				
Value of Slave				
Pardon				

Town	
Trial Date	1740/06/16
Justices	Thomas Nelson Edmund Smith William. Nelson junr. Daniel Moore Samuel Reade John Goodwin
Slave	Sarah
Gender	Female
Master	John Dailey
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	
Crime Description	Theft; "suspicion of felony"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	Examination of witnesses
Verdict	Not Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Discharged
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	Williamsburg
Trial Date	1742/06/02
Justices	Thomas Nelson John Buckner Edmund Smith Daniel More Samuel Reade John Ballard Ellyson Armistead
Slave	Quash
Gender	Nanny Male Female
Master	William Nelson Ishmael Moody
Master's Residence	Yorktown Yorktown
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	Thomas Dickinson of Williamsburg
Crime Description	Theft; Nanny; "stealing one piece of foreign coin'd Gold called a double double Sovn, the proper mony of our sd. Lord the King and the Honble Wm. Gooch Esqr. and 40 shillings of foreign coin'd silver of the proper mony of Thomas Dickinson of the City of Wmsburgh out of the sd. Thomas Dickson's Pocket"
	"Quash is guilty in being accesory on receiving part of the mony"
Plea	
Witnesses	
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Act of Clergy
Punishment	"burnt in the hand at the Barr" and "21 lashes well laid on at the public whipping post"
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town		CW 919) 171	845
Trial Date	1743/03/04		
Justices	George Gilmer Samuel Reade William Nelson, Junr. John Ballard John Goodwin		
Slave	Sam		
Gender	Male		
Master	John Buckner, Gent		
Master's Residence			
Date of Crime			
Time Crime Committe			
Place of Crime			
Victim	Filmer Wills of Warwick County		
Crime Description	Theft; "Stealing"		
	2 gallons of Molasses		5 s.
	25 lbs of Sugar		13 s.
Plea	Guilty		
Witnesses	Examine the witnesses		
Verdict	Guilty		
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of the Act of Clergy		
Punishment	"burnt in the Hand at the Barr" and 30 lashes at the public whipping post well laid on"		
	Felmer Wills will be restored his Goods"		
Date of Hanging			
Value of Slave			
Pardon			

Town		CW (19) 217	1076
Trial Date	1743/09/03		
Justices	Thomas Nelson Edmund Smith Samuel Reade John Ballard John Goodwin		
Slave	Quash		
Gender	Male		
Master	Wm. Nelson Senr.		
Master's Residence	Yorktown		
Date of Crime	1743/08/26		
Time Crime Committe			
Place of Crime	Ship tied up at Yorktown		
Victim	Doctr. John Payras		
Crime Description	Theft; "felonious taking away mony out of the ship of Doctr John Payras"		
Plea	Not Guilty		
Witnesses	Examination		
Verdict	Not Guilty		
Plea Benefit of AA			
Punishment	Discharged		
Date of Hanging			
Value of Slave			
Pardon			

Town	
Trial Date	1743/11/21
Justices	Not listed
Slave	Sam
Gender	Male
Master	Landon Carter, Esqr.
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	John Glass
Crime Description	Theft; Suspicion of stealing a hog
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	"39 lashes on his bare back well laid on"
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	1184-1	CW (19) 241-2
Trial Date	1743/11/28	
Justices	John Buckner Edmund. Smith John Goodwin Daniel Moore John Ballard	
Slave	Bradford Sophy	
Gender	Male Female	
Master	John Tyler	
Master's Residence	William Derring, Dancing Master James City County Williamsburg	
Date of Crime		
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime		
Victim	William Derring	
Crime Description	Theft; "Suspicion of feloniously stealing 2 horses and also sundry Goods the property of the sd. Wm. Derring"	
Plea	Bradford; Not Guilty Charges were dropped against Sophy	
Witnesses		
Verdict	Bradford; Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Hanged	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave	£ 30	
Pardon		

Town		CW (19) 299	1493
Trial Date	1744/08/03		
Justices	Francis Howard Edmund Smith Samuel Reade John Goodwin Sampson		
Slave	Robert Shield		
Gender	York County		
Master			
Master's Residence			
Date of Crime			
Time Crime Committe			
Place of Crime			
Victim	James Bales		
Crime Description	Theft; "Felonious Stealing from James Bales Sundry Goods to a considerable Value" 50 s. Confessed		
Plea	Guilty		
Witnesses	Asked if he had been tried in James City County on July 5--had received Benefit of Clergy--answer'd that he was the same person"		
Verdict	Hanged		
Plea Benefit of AA	f 42.10.0		
Punishment			
Date of Hanging			
Value of Slave			
Pardon			

Town	Williamsburg	OW (19) 320
	1561	
Trial Date	1744/08/30	
Justices	Francis Howard	
	Daniel Moore	
	John Ballard	
	John Goodwin	
	Nathl. Bacon Burwell	
Slave	Kircandy	
Gender	Male	
Master	Estate of James Geddy	
Master's Residence	Williamsburg	
Date of Crime	1744/08/32	
Time Crime Committe	Nighttime	
Place of Crime	Store house of Sarah Packe in Williamsburg	
Victim	Sarah Packe, Widow	
Crime Description	Theft; "Felonious breaking & Entring"	
	"Stealing from thence divers Wares	
	Merchandizes & monies of the value of £ 5"	
Plea	Confessed	
Witnesses		
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Hanged (second offense; see 1940/02/18)	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave	£ 60	
Pardon		

Town	1967	OW (19) 355-6
Trial Date	1744/45/03/05	
Justices	Daniel Moore	
	John Goodwin	
	Edmd. Smith	
	Wm. Nelson Junr.	
Slave	Gabey	
	Pompey	
Gender	Male	
	Male	
Master	Edward Digges	
	Edward Digges	
Master's Residence	York County	
Date of Crime		
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Home of Edward Digges	
Victim	Edward Digges	
Crime Description	Theft; "Feloniously breaking open the Desk of their Mistress and Stealing a considerable Sum of mony"	
Plea	Pompey; Not Guilty	
	Gabey "nothing appearing agt him"	
Witnesses		
Verdict	Pompey guilty of breaking open the desk and stealing 20 s.	
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of AA (his Clergy)	
Punishment	"Pompey prayed the benefit of his clergy and he was burnt in the hand at the Barr aforesd. by the Gaoler and it's ord. that he receive 25 Lashes on his bare back well laid on at the public whipping post and if he will not confess then, where the remainder of the mony is that he took out of the sd. Desk that he receive 39 Lashes there ord. that the mony here produced be deliver'd to the sd. Digges. Gabey dismissed.	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		OW (19 362	1814
Trial Date	1744/45/03/18		
Justices	Edmund Smith		
	John Goodwin		
	Thomas Cobbs		
	Arthur Dickson		
Slave	Frank		
Gender	Male		
Master	Anne Gibbons		
Master's Residence	Yorktown		
Date of Crime			
Time Crime Committe			
Place of Crime	Storehouse of Richard Ambler, Esqr.		
Victim	Richard Ambler		
Crime Description	Theft; "Suspicion of breaking and entering and Stealing from thence"		
	Piece of broad Cloth	£ 3	
Plea	Not Guilty		
Witnesses	Examination		
Verdict	Not Guilty		
Plea Benefit of AA			
Punishment	Discharged		
Date of Hanging			
Value of Slave			
Pardon			

Town	2746-1	OW (19) 489-90
Trial Date	1747/02/14	
Justices	Thomas Nelson Francis Howard Edmond Smith Samuel Reade John Goodwin Thomas Reynolds	
Slave	Will	
	Cambridge	
Gender	Male	
	Male	
Master	Will; John Thompson, Mariner Cambridge; George Russell	
Master's Residence		
Date of Crime	1746/47/01/10	
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Williamsburg	
Victim	Thomas Hornsby, Merchant, Williamsburg Armistead Burwell, Mariner, Williamsburg Honble William Gooch Esqr.	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and Arms Thomas Hornsby: 2 pieces of Linnen £ 15 Armistead Burwell 12 pairs of Cotton Stockings £ 12 24 Silk Purses £ 5 Honble William Gooch, Esqr. 9 pairs of Shoes £ 5 "did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Will: Guilty Cambridge: Not Guilty	
Witnesses		
Verdict	Will: Guilty Cambridge: Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA	Will: "prayed the benefit of the Act" Cambridge: "prayed the benefit of the Act"	
Punishment	Will and Cambridge: "burnt in the left hand . . .39 lashes well laid on"	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		JO (1)	126
Trial Date	1748/08/15		
Justices	John Goodwin Thomas Reynolds Edmund Smith Samuel Reade William Allen [Torn Document]		
Slave	Juba		
Gender	Male		
Master	James Shield		
Master's Residence	Williamsburg		
Date of Crime	1748/08/08		
Time Crime Committe	"btwn the hours of eight and twelve in the night		
Place of Crime	dwelling house of one Thomas Penman, City of York		
Victim	Thomas Penman		
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms" "feloniously and burgarliously did break and enter" one shirt 15 s. one man waistcoat 6 s. two girls shifts 6 s. one piece of dimmity 8 s. "did take, steal, and carry away"		
Plea	Not Guilty		
Witnesses	"Ciss a Negro woman slave belonging to Wm Wyatt was charged and also examined agt the sd Juba and the sd Juba heard in his defence"		
Verdict	Not Guilty		
Plea Benefit of AA			
Punishment	"he go hence without delay"		
Date of Hanging			
Value of Slave			
Pardon			

Town	JO (1)	191
Trial Date	1749/04/12	
Justices	John Goodwin	
	Thomas Reynolds	
	Samuel Reade	
	William Allen	
	Robert Shield, Jr.	
Slave	Bob	
	Will; Acquited--but "guilty of several	
	misdeamors" therefore given 39 lashes	
Gender	Male	
	Male	
Master	Bob; John Perrin, Merchant	
	Will; John Perrin, Merchant	
Master's Residence	Gloucester County	
Date of Crime	1748/12/10	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Storehouse of William Lightfoot, Gent.	
	Yorkhampton Parish	
Victim	William Montgomery, Merchant	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms the storehouse...	
	Felonioulsy did break and enter	
	One bale of garlex containing 20 pieces £ 40	
	twenty three pieces of check linen £ 42	
	one piece of shalloon £ 3	
	one piece of German serge £ 10. 10	
	8 yards of broadcloth £ 5	
	one case containing 145 hats £ 33	
	six pieces of oznaburgs £ 20	
	"feloniously and burglariously did take	
	steal and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	William Mongomery [Torn]	
	Man slave belonging to John Norton	
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Hnaged	
Date of Hanging	1749/04/21	
Value of Slave	£ 45	
Pardon		

Town	Williamsburg	JO (1)
	218-220	
Trial Date	1749/07/01	
Justices	John Goodwin	
	Thmoas Reynolds	
	Robert Shield	
	John Wormeley	
Slave	David; "will not prosecute"--Acquited	
	Staffor	
	Achilles	
Gender	Male	
	Male	
	Male	
Master	David; ?	
	Staffor; Thomas Cobbs, Gent	
	Achilles; John Micou, Gent	
Master's Residence	Thomas Cobbs; York County	
	John Micou; Essex County	
Date of Crime	1749/06/25	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Public Warehous, Capital Landing, Bruton	
	Parish	
Victim	Estate of Henry Hacker	
Crime Description	Theft; "feloniously and burglariously did	
	break and enter"	
	200 lbs of tobacco 20s.	
	goods and chattel of David Long	
	"feloniously did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Stafford; Not Guilty	
	Achilles; Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Thomas Cobbs, William Dunn, Rice Price, were	
	sworn and examined	
	David a Negro Man Slave of John Mico	
	Charged and Examined	
Verdict	Stafford; Not Guilty	
	Achilles; Not Guilty	
	"But guilty of misdeaqmor [Torn]	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	thirty () lashes	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		JO (1) 230-231
Trial Date	1749/07/25	
Justices	John Goodwin	
	Thomas Reynolds	
	William Allen	
	Robert Shield	
Slave	Sam	
Gender	Male	
Master	Thomas Bray	
Master's Residence	James City County	
Date of Crime	1749/07/15	
Time Crime Committe	10-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Dairy house of Ann Cosby, Widow, Yorkhampton Parish	
Victim	Ann Cosby	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms "feloniously and burglariously did break and enter" One pot of butter 16 s. "feloniously did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Ann Cosby charged and examined	
Verdict	Guilty of the Felony but not Guilty of the burglary	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Burnt in the left hand and ? lashed	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town	
Trial Date	1750 ?
Justices	Samuel Reade John Goodwin Thomas Reynolds John Norton Robert Shield
Slave	Gaby
Gender	Male
Master	Francis Lee
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	Yorkhampton Parish
Victim	William Stevenson
Crime Description	Theft; "felonioulsy and burglarily did break and enter" 150 gallons of wine £ 50 "felonioulsy dod take, steal and carry away
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	Richard Harrison Edward Lankford Patrick Simpson Elizabeth Dutchfield Wife of Robert Hutchings Sundry negro slaves "were charged and also examined"
Verdict	"Guilty of stealing and carrying away goods in the informationm mentioned to the value of 14 p sterling and no more and that he is not guilty of breaking as above in pleading hath alledged."
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	"burnt in the left hand . . .receive at the public whipping post 39 lashes on his bare back well laid on"
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	Williamsburg	JO (1)
	399-400	
Trial Date	1751/03/07	
Justices	Peyton Randolph	
	Samuel Reade	
	John Goodwin	
	Dudley Digges	
	John Norton	
	Robert Shield	
	John Holt	
Slave	Matt	
Gender	Male	
Master	Honble John Blair	
Master's Residence	Williamsburg	
Date of Crime	1750/12/22	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Dwelling house of Ann Shields, Bruton Parish	
Victim	Ann Shields	
Crime Description	Theft: "with force and arms . . . did break and enter	
	5 gallons of wine	20 s.
	10 gallons of rum	20 s.
	"felonioulsy id take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Ann Shields was sworn and examined	
	Confession of Matt made before and taken by	
	John Holt	
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Hanged	
Date of Hanging	1751/04/08	
Value of Slave	£ 55	
Pardon		

Town		JO (1) 399-400
Trial Date	1751/03/07	
Justices	Peyton Randolph	
	Samuel Reade	
	John Goodwin	
	Dudley Digges	
	John Norton	
	Robert Shield	
	John Holt	
Slave	Matt	
Gender	Male	
Master	Honble John Blair	
Master's Residence	Williamsburg	
Date of Crime	1750/12/22	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Dwelling House of Ann Shields	
Victim	Ann Shields	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms"	
	5 gallons of wine	20 s.
	10 gallons of rum	20 s.
	"feloniously did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses		
Verdict	(Torn) Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Hanged	
Date of Hanging	April 8	
Value of Slave	£ 55	
Pardon		

Town	Williamsburg	JO (1) 398-399
Trial Date	1751/03/07	
Justices	Peyton Randolph Samuel Reade John Goodwin Dudley Digges John Norton Robert Shield John Holt	
Slave	Natt Simon	
Gender	Male Male	
Master	Natt; William Drummond Simon; Ann Shield	
Master's Residence	William Drummond; James City Ann Shield; York County	
Date of Crime	1751/03/07	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Mansion House of Jane Vobe, Bruton Parish	
Victim	Jane Vobe	
Crime Description	Theft; Simon "w/force and arms" "feloniously and burglariously did break and enter" rum, 5 gal, (torn), valued at 10 s. box of candles, valued at 20 s. "feloniously did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Simon; Not Guilty Natt; Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Witnesses for Natt: Jane Vobe Betty a Christian negro slave belonging to Frances Webb	
Verdict	Natt; Not Guilty as hath alledged, but Guilty of divers misdeamnors Simon; Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA Punishment	Natt; lashes 39 and discharged Simon; hanged	
Date of Hanging	1751/04/08	
Value of Slave	Simon; £ 55	
Pardon		

Town	
Trial Date	1751/06/08
Justices	Samuel Reade John Goodwin Dudley Digges John Norton Robert Shield John Holt
Slave	Natt
Gender	Male
Master	Wm. Drummond
Master's Residence	James City
Date of Crime	Dec. 10
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.
Place of Crime	Warehouse
Victim	John Hy[ndman], Merchant
Crime Description	Theft; [Torn] "did break and enter" stockings, 10 pr. valued at 40 s. 6 rugs valued at 30 s. "did take steal and carry away"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	William Lowe was sworn and examined Juba a negro woman slave belonging to Ann Shields, Betty a negro woman slave belonging to Frances Webb
Verdict	Not Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Discharged
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town		JO (1) 426-427
Trial Date	1751/06/08	
Justices	Peyton randolph Samuel Reade John Goodwin Dudley Digges John Norton Robert Shield John Holt	
Slave	Natt	
Gender	Male	
Master	William Drummond	
Master's Residence	James City County	
Date of Crime	1750/12/10	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	[Torn]	of John Hyndman, Merchant
Victim	John Hyndaman	
Crime Description	Theft; [Torn] "did break and enter 10 pr. of worsted stockings 6 rugs "felonioulsy and burglariously did take steal and carry"	40 s. 30 s.
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	William Lowe Betty a negro woman slave belonging to Frances Webb charged and examined	
Verdict	Not Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Discharged	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town	Williamsburg	JO (1)
	429-430	
Trial Date	1751/06/20	
Justices	John Goodwin	
	Arthur Dickeson	
	Dudley Digges	
	Thomas Reynolds	
	Robert Shield	
	John Holt	
Slave	Josiah	
Gender	Male	
Master	John Amson, Dr. of Physic	
Master's Residence	Williamsburg	
Date of Crime	(Torn)	
Time Crime Committe	10-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Mansion House Williamsburg	
Victim	Jane Vobe, Widow	
Crime Description	Theft; "feloniously amd burglariously did break and enter" 10 gallons of rum valued at 20 s. 1 box of candles valued at 20 s.	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Thomas Penman Natt a Christian slave belonging to Wm Drummond	
	sworn and examined	
Verdict	Guilty of stealing; Not Guilty of Burglary	
Plea Benefit of AA	Prayed the Benefit of AA [Torn]	
Punishment	Ellyson Armistead gent then sheriff of the sd county did take the sa Josiah into his custody and imprison him in the gaol . . . and the sd. Josial so being imprisooned on 9 May in the yr aforesd w/force and arms at the parish and county aforesd. the prison aforesd feloniously did break and himslef therefrom deliver and did escape and flee away agt the will and consent. . . Pled Benefit of AA Not Clergyable because previously pled Found Guilty; To Be Hanged	
Date of Hanging	1751/06/?	
Value of Slave	£ 50	
Pardon		

Town		JO (1) 519
Trial Date	1752/01/20	
Justices	Benjamin Waller, Attorney	
Slave	Frank	
	Dinah	
	Phillis	
Gender	Male	
	Female	
	Female	
Master	Thomas Mumford	
	Thomas Mumford	
	Thomas Mumford	
Master's Residence		
Date of Crime		
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime		
Victim	William Allen Gent	
Crime Description	Theft; Stealing Shoat	
Plea	Frank; Not Guilty	
	Dinah; Not Guilty	
	Phillis, Not Guilty	
Witnesses		
Verdict	Frank; Guilty	
	Dinah; Guilty	
	Phillis; Not Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Frank; 39 lashes well laid on	
	Dinah; 39 lashes well laid on	
	Phillis; Discharged	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		JO (2) 36-37
Trial Date	1752/06/04	
Justices	Peyton Randolph George Gilmer Samuel Reade John Goodwin John Holt	
Slave	Jemmy	
Gender	Male	
Master	Thomas Reynolds, Gent	
Master's Residence	York County	
Date of Crime	1752/05/25	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Dwelling House of Catherine Hansford, York Hampton Parish	
Victim	Catherine Hansford, Spinster	
Crime Description	Rape vs Lucy Hansfor, Spinster Rape; "w/force and arms" "feloniously and burglariously did break and enter with an intention to commit a rape upon one Lucy Hansford spinster"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	divers witnesses were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Hanged	
Date of Hanging	1752/06/19	
Value of Slave	£ 55	
Pardon		

Town		JO (2) 60-61
Trial Date	1752/06/29	
Justices	George Gilmer John Goodwin Dudley Digges John Norton	
Slave	Bristol	
Gender	Male	
Master	Thomas Reynolds, Gent	
Master's Residence	York County	
Date of Crime	1752/06/11	
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Yorkhampton Parish	
Victim	Archibald Ritchie, Merchant	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms at the parish of Yorkhampton linen, 30 ells valued at 40 s. "the proper goods and chattel of Archibald Ritchie, merchant . . ."did steal take amd carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	divers negro witnesses charged and examined	
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of Act of Assembly	
Punishment	"be burnt in the left hand which being done in the presence of the ct it is further considered that he receive 30 lashes at the public whipping post on his bare back well laid on"	
	Discharged	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		JO (2) 62
Trial Date	1752/06/29	
Justices		
Slave	Dick	
Gender	Male	
Master	Thomas Reynolds, Gent	
Master's Residence	York County	
Date of Crime		
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime		
Victim		
Crime Description	Sundry offenses, No Trial	
Plea		
Witnesses		
Verdict		
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	"30 lashes on his bare back well laid on"	
	"Ordered that Thomas Reynold's negro man	
	slave Dick who hath been guilty of sundry	
	offences at the public whipping post	
	receive 39 lashes on his bare back well	
	laid on and that the sheriff do immediate	
	execution thereof"	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town	Williamsburg	JO (2)
Trial Date	173-174	
Justices	1753/01/31	
	George Gilmer	
	John Goodwin	
	Thomas Reynolds	
	John Norton	
Slave	Essex	
	Nat Mulatto	
Gender	Male	
	Male	
Master	Essex; Mathew Pierce	
	Nat; William Drummond	
Master's Residence	Mathew Pierce, York County	
	William Drummond; James City County	
Date of Crime	1752/10/25	
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Mansion House of Peyton Randolph, Esqr.	
	Williamsburg in Bruton Parish	
Victim	Peyton Randolph Esqr.	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms"	
	3 damask table cloths, valued at £ 8;	
	1 diaper table cloth, valued at 10 s.	
	"did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Essex; Not Guilty	
	Nat; Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Divers Witnesses were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Essex; Gulty	
	Nat; Not Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA	Essex; Prayed the Benefit of the Act of Assembly	
Punishment	Essex; burnt in the left hand and 25 lashes	
	Nat; Discharged	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		JO (2) 196
Trial Date	1753/04/04	
Justices	George Gilmer John Goodwin Thomas Reynolds Samuel Reade Dudley Digges John Norton	
Slave	Harry	
	Tom	
Gender	Male	
	Male	
Master	Harry; John Goodwin, Jr	
	Tom; the Estate of Peter Goodwin	
Master's Residence	John Goodwin, Jr.; York County Peter Goodwin; York County	
Date of Crime	1753/03/28	
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Parish of York Hampton	
Victim		
Crime Description	To rebel and make an insurrection; "w/force and arms. . . feloniously did consult, advise, and conspire to rebel and make an insurrection and did also plot and conspire the murder of divers of His Majesty's good and faithful subjects in the parish and county aforesd"	
Plea	Harry; Not Guilty	
	Tom; Not Guilty	
Witnesses	sundry Witnesses were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Harry; Not Guilty	
	Tom; Not Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Harry; Acquited and Discharged Tom; Acquited and Discharged, "but it apear[ing] to the ct that the sd Tom has been guilty of a misdeamor it is ordered that he receive at the public whipping post 25 lashes on his bare back well laid on"	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town	1753/09/18	JO (2) 322-3
Trial Date	Peyton Randolph	
Justices	John Goodwin	
	Dudley Digges	
	John Norton	
	Robert Shield	
Slave	Peter	
Gender	Male	
Master	Honble William Nelson, Esq.	
Master's Residence	Yorktown	
Date of Crime	1753/08/31	
Time Crime Committe	10-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Kitchen of Martha Goosley, York Hampton Parish	
Victim	Martha Goosley	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and enter feloniously and burglariously did break and enter" two diaper table cloths valued at 10 s. 1 napkin valued at 1 s. 1 pair of cotton stocking valued at 7s. 1 petticoat valued at 4 s. 3 children's linnen frocks & 3 shirts valued at 20 s. "feloniously did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	diverse witnesses were sworn charged and examined	
Verdict	Guilty of the felony, but not guilty of the burglary	
Plea Benefit of AA	Prayed the Benefit of the Act of Assembly	
Punishment	Burnt in the left hand, and 39 lashes "for sundry other offenses"	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		JO (2) 364-5
Trial Date	1753/12/31	
Justices	Samuel Reade John Goodwin Robert Shield John Holt	
Slave	Duncan; no prosecution and discharged Bob; no prosecution and discharged Abraham Tom Putney	
Gender	Male Male Male Male Male	
Master	Duncan; John Norton, Gent Bob; John Norton, Gent Abraham; John Norton, Gent Tom; John Norton, Gent Putney; John Wormley, Gent	
Master's Residence	John Norton; York John Wormley; York	
Date of Crime	1753/12/17	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Storehouse of John Norton, Yorkhampton	
Victim	John Norton	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms feloniously and burglariously did break and enter" 2 pair worsted stockings valued at 15 s. 4 ruggs valued at £ 3 3 pairs of shoes valued at 20 s. 2 patterns of stockin breeches valued at 20 s. 4 yds. of green cloth valued at 20 s. 5 yds of chex valued at 10 s. 3 hatts valued at 30 s. 10 ells of linnen valued at 20 s. 30 yds of ribbon valued at 20 s. 4 handkerchiefs valued at 10 s. "did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Abraham; "by reason of sickness is unable to plead to the sd information he is again committed to the custody of the sd sherrif and his trial is adjourned till the 21st day of Jan. next" Tom; Not Guilty Putney: Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Divers Witness were charged and examined	
Verdict	Tom; Guilty Putney: Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Tom; Hanged Putney; Hanged	

Date of Hanging	Abraham Sick and Died in Prison
Value of Slave	1754/01/11
	Tom £ 45
Pardon	Putney £ 50

Town	JO (2) 366
Trial Date	1754/01/21
Justices	Dec. 31 Court Reconstituted Samuel Reade John Goodwin Robert Shield John Holt
Slave	Tom
Gender	Putney Male
Master	Male John Norton, Gent John Wormley, Gent
Master's Residence	York County York County
Date of Crime	1753/12/31 after
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	
Crime Description	Escape from Prison; "Tom and Putney had made their escape out of the gaol of this county since their conviction and condemnation on the 31st day of Dec last past were agin set to the bar and it being demanded of them whether they were the same persons who had been before on the 31st day of Dec. convicted and judged of death passed on them whether they or either of them had anything to say why the ct should not proceed to award execution on the sd judgmt. Demanded of them if they were the same persons." Tom: "the same person" Putney; "the same person"
Plea	
Witnesses	
Verdict	Tom; Guilty Putney; Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA Punishment	Tom; Hanged Putney; Hanged
Date of Hanging	1754/01/25
Value of Slave	Abraham died in prison; £ 41 Tom; £ 45 Putney; £ 50
Pardon	

Town	Williamsburg	JO (3)
Trial Date	10-11	
Justices	1759/02/15	
	Dudley Digges	
	Thomas Reynolds	
	John Norton	
	Robert Shield	
	Robert Smith	
Slave	John Irwin	
Gender	Male	
Master	Hugh Orr	
Master's Residence	Williamsburg	
Date of Crime	1759/01/13	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Store House of John Tarpley, Merchant,	
	Williamsburg	
Victim	John Tarpley, Merchant	
Crime Description	Theft; "w force/arms"	
	"feloniously did break and enter"	
	36 yds. ribbon valued at 50 s.	
	Spanish coined silver valued at 25 s.	
	"feloniously did steal take and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Divers Witness were sworn and examined	
	1 Negro witness charged and examined	
Verdict	Guilty of Felony but Not Guilty of Burglary	
Plea Benefit of AA	Benefit of AA Pled	
Punishment	Burnt in Left Hand and 15 Lashes	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		JO (3) 25-6
Trial Date	1759/04/14	
Justices	John Norton	
	Robert Shield	
	Robert Smith	
	Edward Ambler	
Slave	Scipio	
Gender	Male	
Master	Francis Peters	
Master's Residence	York County	
Date of Crime	1759/04/07	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Meat House of John Gibbon, Yorkhampton Parish	
Victim	John Gibbon	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms"	
	bacon, 220#, valued at 50 s.	
	2 sack bags, valued at 10 s. "feloniously did steal take and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Divers Witness were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Not Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Acquited and discharged of the sd. felony but it appearing the he misbehaved Himself 39 Lashes	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town	Williamsburg	JO (3)
	25-6W	
Trial Date	1759/04/30	
Justices	Dudley Digges	
	Thomas Reynolds	
	Robert Shield	
	John Prentis	
	Robert Smith	
Slave	Issac	
Gender	Male	
Master	Samuel Spurr	
Master's Residence	Williamsburg	
Date of Crime	1759/04/24	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Kitchen of Edward Charlton, Williamsburg	
Victim	James Southall	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms. . . Feloniously did break and enter" 1 ax valued at 5 s. "feloniously did steal take and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Divers Witness were sworn charged and examined	
Verdict	Guilty of Felony; Not Guilty of the Burglary	
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of the Act of Assembly	
Punishment	Burnt in Left Hand and 35 Lashes	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		JO (3) 28-9
Trial Date	1759/05/09	
Justices	John Norton	
	Robert Smith	
	Edward Ambler	
	Thomas Reynolds	
Slave	George	
	Jemmy	
Gender	Male	
	Male	
Master	Phillip Ludwell, Esqr.	
	Phillip Ludwell, Esqr.	
Master's Residence	James City County	
Date of Crime	1759/05/04	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Mill House, Est of Daniel P Custis, Bruton Parish	
Victim	Elizabeth Pierce and Matthew Moody	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms . . . feloniously did break & enter"	
	1 bag of meal valued at 5 s.	
	1 bag of meal valued at 5 s.	
	"feloniously did steal take and carry away"	
Plea	Jemmy; Guilty	
	George; Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Divers Witness	
Verdict	Jemmy; Guilty	
	George; Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Jemmy; Hanged	
	George; Hanged	
Date of Hanging	1759/05/09	
Value of Slave	Jemmy; £ 80	
	George; £ 60	
Pardon	Jemmy pardonned	
	George pardonned	

Town		JO (3) 130-1
Trial Date	1760/04/21	
Justices	John Norton	
	Robert Shield	
	Robert Smith	
	Anthony Robinson	
	Thomas Chisman	
Slave	Scipio	
Gender	Male	
Master	Francis Peters	
Master's Residence	York County	
Date of Crime	1760/04/16	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Mill House of Edward Digges, Yorkhampton Parish	
Victim	Edward Digges	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms . . . feloniously did break and enter"	
	2 bags meal valued at 1 s. 6 p.	
	1 plate valued at 2 s.	
	2 meal bags valued at 2 s.	
	1 earthern dish valued at 1 s.	
	1 pail valued at 2 s.	
	"felonioulsy did steal take and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Divers Witness were sworn d]charged and examined	
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Hanged	
Date of Hanging	1760/05/02	
Value of Slave	£ 50	
Pardon	Pardoned; Governor Facquier	

Town		JO (3) 168-9
Trial Date	1760/07/21	
Justices	Peyton Randolph	
	Robert Shield	
	Robert Smith	
	James Tarpley	
	David Jameson	
Slave	Lewis	
Gender	Male	
Master	Francis Lee	
Master's Residence	Warwick County	
Date of Crime	1760/07/08	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Storehouse of John Norton, Gent, of Yorktown	
Victim	John Norton	
Crime Description	"w/ force and arms . . . feloniously did break & enter"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Divers Witness were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Hanged	
Date of Hanging	1760/08/08	
Value of Slave	£ 75	
Pardon	Pardoned; Governor Facquier	

Town	Williamsburg	JO (3)
	184-5	
Trial Date	1760/10/04	
Justices	John Goodwin	
	Dudley Digges	
	John Norton	
	Edward Ambler	
	David Jameson	
	Anthony Robinson	
Slave	Ripon	
Gender	Male	
Master	James Shield	
Master's Residence	Williamsburg	
Date of Crime	1760/09/20	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Dwelling house of Joseph Scrivener, Merchant, Williamsburg	
Victim	Joseph Scrivner	
Crime Description	"w/force and arms . . . feloniously and burglariously did break and enter" Treasury Bills valued at 30 s. 4 Shirts valued at £ 4 2 Blankets valued at £ 2 "felonioulsy did tale steal and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Divers Witnesses were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Hanged	
Date of Hanging	0760/10/17	
Value of Slave	£ 80	
Pardon	Pardoned	

Town	Williamsburg	JO (3) 212-3
Trial Date	1761/02/?	
Justices	Dudley Digges John Norton Robert Smith Edward Ambler David Jameson	
Slave	Sam	
Gender	Male	
Master	Peter Lyons, Gent	
Master's Residence	Hanover County	
Date of Crime	1761/02/01	
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Parish of Bruton	
Victim	Richard Charlton	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms" 1 Black coat valued at 15 s. 1 Waistcoat valued at 10 s. 3 pairs black Breeches valued at 20 s. 1 hat valued at 10 s. 1 pr. stockings valued at 5 s. "feloniously did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Guilty	
Witnesses		
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of the Act of AssemblyA	
Punishment	Burnt in left hand; "conveyed from Constable to Constable until he be delivered to his said master"	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		JO (3) 213-5
Trial Date	1761/02/?	
Justices	Dudley Digges John Norton Robert Smith Edward Ambler David Jameson	
Slave	Man	
	Jemmy	
Gender	Male	
	Male	
Master	Man; Thomas Tomer Jemmy; Charles Minnis	
Master's Residence	Thomas Tomer; York County Charles Minnis; York County	
Date of Crime	1761/01/10	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Storehouse of Edward Tabb, Merchant, Charles Parish	
Victim	Edmund Tabb, Merchant	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and Arms . . . feloniously did break and enter" 1 piece Diaper valued at 12 s. 1 piece Printed cotton valued at 6 s. 1 hat valued at 10 s. 4 pieces Lawn valued at 10 s. 2 yds. Ribbon valued at 3 s. "feloniously did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Man; Not Guilty Jemmy; Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Sundry Witness were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Man; Not Guilty of Burglary but Guilty of Felony Jemmy; Not Guilty of Burglary but Guilty of Felony	
Plea Benefit of AA	Man; Pled Benefit of AA Jemmy; Pled Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Man; Burnt in Left Hand and Jemmy; Burnt in Left Hand and	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		JO (3) 294-5
Trial Date	1761/10/19	
Justices	Robert Shield Robert Smith David Jameson Thomas Chisman	
Slave	Davy Dick	
Gender	Male Male	
Master	Davy; Frances Nelson, Widow Dick; Anne Gibbons, Widow	
Master's Residence	Frances Nelson; York County Anne Gibbons;	
Date of Crime	1761/10/11	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Storehouse of the Honble William Nelson, Esqr. Yorkhampton Parish	
Victim	Honble William Nelson, Esqr.	
Crime Description	Davy Theft; "w/force and arms . . . feloniously did break and enter" Irish linen, 20 yds., valued at £ 4. 10 Calico, piece, valued at £ 3 Current Money, £ 18. 10 "feloniously did steal take and carry away" Dick; Theft: "w/force and arms . . . the Goods and Chattels . . . feloniously stolen taken and carried away felonioulsy did receive and have he the sd. Dick then and there will knowing the aforesd. Goods	
Plea	Davy; Not Guilty Dick; Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Sundry Witness	
Verdict	Davy; Guilty Dick; Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA	Dick; pled Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Davy; Hanged Dick; burnt in the left hand and discharged	
Date of Hanging	Davy; 1761/11/09	
Value of Slave	Davy; £ 80	
Pardon		

Town	JO (3) 307-8
Trial Date	1761/11/21
Justices	John Norton Robert Shield William Allen Robert Smith
Slave	James
Gender	Male
Master	Patrick Matthews
Master's Residence	York Cpunty
Date of Crime	1761/11/01
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.
Place of Crime	Warehouse Of James Pride, Esqr., Yorkhampton Parish
Victim	James Pride, Esq.
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms . . . feloniously did break and enter" Rum, 10 gal., valued at 30 s. Sugar, 20 lbs. valued at 10 s. "feloniously did steal take and carry away"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	Sundry Witness were sworn charged and examined
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Hanged
Date of Hanging	1761/12/04
Value of Slave	£ 80
Pardon	

Town		JO (3) 388-39
Trial Date	1762/06/21	
Justices	Peyton Randolph	
	Robert Shield	
	James Tarpley	
	Anthony Robinson	
	William Graves	
	James Cocke	
Slave	William Scot, Alias Sam	
Gender	Male	
Master	William Winston	
Master's Residence	Hanover	
Date of Crime	1762/04/22	
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Kitchen of William Pasteur, Surgeon, Bruton Parish	
Victim	William Pasteur, Surgeon	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms . . . feloniously did break and enter"	
	Spanish Silver, valued at £ 3.17.0	
	Shoes, 1 pr., valued at 5 s.	
	Buckles, 1 pr., valued at 15 s.	
	"did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Divers Witness were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Hanged	
Date of Hanging	1762/06/21	
Value of Slave	£ 80	
Pardon	Pardoned; Governor Facquier	

Town		JO (3) 500-01
Trial Date	1763/03/21	
Justices	Peyton Randolph	
	John Norton	
	Robert Shield	
	John Prentis	
	Thomas Nelson	
	Thomas Chisman	
Slave	James	
Gender	Male	
Master	Mary Eaton	
Master's Residence	Bruton Parish	
Date of Crime	1763/03/10	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Certain House of Mary Cobbs, Widow, Bruton parish	
Victim	Mary Cobbs, Widow	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms . . . feloniously did break and enter" turkeys, 10, valued at 20 s. ducks, 5, valued at 8 s. "felonioulsy did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Divers Witness were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Burnt in left hand and 39 Lashes	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		JO (3) 502-03
Trial Date	1763/04/23	
Justices	Dudley Digges	
	John Norton	
	Robert Smith	
	David Jameson	
	Burwell	
Slave	Jemmy	
Gender	Male	
Master	Daniel Moore, Gent	
Master's Residence	York County	
Date of Crime	1763/10/17	
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	House of William Moss, Yorkhampton Parish	
Victim	Issac Hobday	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force and arms . . . feloniously did break and enter"	
	Man's coat, valued at 40 s.	
	"feloniously did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Sundry Witness were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Not Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Discharged	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town	1763/05/28	JO (3) 504-05
Trial Date	John Norton	
Justices	William Allen	
	Robert Shield	
	John Prentis	
	Robert Smith	
	Anthony Robinson	
Slave	Cuffy, "a person of wicked mind and disposition"	
Gender	Male	
Master	Rev'd John Fox	
Master's Residence	Gloucester County	
Date of Crime	1763/05/17	
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Bruton Parish	
Victim	Walter Lenox, Barber;	
	Elizabeth, wife;	
	negro slave named Sally belonging to the estate of Carter Burwell;	
	John Lenox;	
	James Long;	
	Wm Aubrey;	
	Judith Dunford;	
	William White;	
	John Jones;	
	Adam White;	
Crime Description	Poison and Murder; "w/force and arms . . . feloniously did plot and conspire with one Issac a free negro and other persons to the sd. attor.unknown without the knowledge of John Fox or Walter Lenox wickedly and maliciously intending to poison murder & destroy the sd Walter Lenox and his family. . . w/force and arms . . . did prepare aresenic & other poisonous medicines so prepared then and there did feloniously exhibit and adminster . . ."	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Sundry Witness were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Hanged	
Date of Hanging	1763/06/17	
Value of Slave	£ 60	
	Harry was not prosecuted and he was discharged [Harry was a negro slave belonging to Joseph Wade his crime is unknown]	
Pardon		

Town		JO (4) 66-67
Trial Date	1763/08/15	
Justices	Peyton Randolph Dudley Digges John Norton William Allen Thomas Norton	
Slave	Peter	
Gender	Male	
Master	Daniel Moore	
Master's Residence		
Date of Crime	1763/08/02	
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Dwelling House of John Hennesy, Charles Parish	
Victim	John Hennesy	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force & arms . . . feloniously did break and enter" shirt, 1, valued at 10 s. waistcoat, 1, valued at 10 s. breeches, 1 pr., valued at 5 s. "felonioulsy did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	"Hennesy was sworn and examined as a witness"	
Verdict	Guilty of the felony to the value of 10 s.	
Plea Benefit of AA	Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Burnt in left hand and 15 Lashes	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		JO 4 66-67
Trial Date	1763/08/29	
Justices	John Norton	
	James Pride	
	David Jameson	
	Nicholas Dickson	
Slave	Charles	
Gender	Male	
Master	Miles Cary, Gent.	
Master's Residence	Warwick County	
Date of Crime	1763/08/19	
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Mill House of John Howard and Henry Howard,	
	Charles Parish	
Victim	Charles Hobson	
Crime Description	Theft; "w/force & arms feloniously did break and enter"	
	meal, 1 bag, valued at 15 s. belonging to	
	Charles Hobson	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Sundry Witness were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of Act of Assembly	
Punishment	Burnt in Left Hand and Discharged	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		JO (4) 88-89
Trial Date	1763/09/19	
Justices	John Norton	
	Thomas Chisman	
	Anthony Robinson	
	Nicholas Dickson	
Slave	America	
Gender	Male	
Master	Richard Ambler, Esq.	
Master's Residence		
Date of Crime	1763/09/16	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Kitchen of Hon. William Nelson, Esqr.	
	Yorkhampton Parish	
Victim	William Nelson	
Crime Description	Theft: "w/force & arms feloniously did break and enter"	
	childs bed, 1, valued at 5 s.	
	diaper, 3 yards, valued at 5 s.	
	feloniously did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Not guilty	
Witnesses	Sundry Witnesses were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Guilty of Felony but Not guilty of Burglary	
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of Act of Assembly	
Punishment	Burnt in left hand and 39 lashes well laid on	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town	Williamsburg	JO (4) 144-146
Trial Date	1764/02/10	
Justices	Dudley Digges John Norton Robert Shield Thomas Nelson James Pride William Holt	
Slave	Moses	
Gender	Male	
Master	Peyton Randolph, Esqr.	
Master's Residence	Williamsburg	
Date of Crime	1764/01/13	
Time Crime Committe	8-10 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Kings Highway, Bruton Parish	
Victim	Elizabeth Doran, Wife of John Doran, York County	
Crime Description	Assault and Theft: "w/force & arms . . . put the said Elizabeth in fear of her life" Wallet, 1 valued at 2 s. Apron valued at 5 s. Brown Sugar, 5# valued 4 s. Pork , 2 pieces valued at 2 s. 6 p. "feloniously did Rob Steal & carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Sundry Witnesses were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Not Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Discharged	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		JO (4) 144-146
Trial Date	1764/02/10	
Justices	Dudley Digges John Norton Robert Sheild Thomas Nelson James Pride William Holt	
Slave	Tom	
	Jack	
Gender	Male	
	Male	
Master	Tom; James Shield Jack; James Shield	
Master's Residence		
Date of Crime	1764/01/30	
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Bruton Parish	
Victim	Elizabeth Tarpley, Widow, York County	
Crime Description	Theft; "feloniously did take steal & lead away" 1 steer valued at 50 s.	
Plea	Tom; Not Guilty Jack; Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Sundry Witnesses were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Tom; Guilty Jack; Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA	Tom; Pled Benefit of Act of Assembly Jack; Pled Benefit of Act of Assembly	
Punishment	Tom; Burnt in Left Hand and 15 Lashes well laid on Jack; Burnt in Left Hand and 15 Lashes well laid on	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		JO (4) 336
Trial Date	1764/12/17	
Justices	Benjamin Waller Attorney	
Slave	Weymouth	
	Jeffrey	
Gender	Male	
	Male	
Master	Weymouth; Thomas Chisman, Gent.	
	Jeffrey; Thomas Chisman, Gent.	
Master's Residence	Charles Parish	
Date of Crime	1764/11/25	
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Charles Parish	
Victim	Edmund Curtis	
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and arms"	
	1 hog valued at 20 s.	
	"did steal take and carry away"	
Plea	Weymouth; Guilty	
	Jeffrey; Guilty	
Witnesses	Divers Witnesses were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Weymouth; Guilty	
	Jeffrey; Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Weymouth; 39 Lashes well laid on	
	Jeffrey: 39 Lashes well laid on	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		O (4) 370-371
Trial Date	1765/04/20	
Justices	Dudley Digges Armistead Lightfoot Thomas Nelson David Jameson Nicholas Dickson	
Slave	Sam	
Gender	Male	
Master	John Brown	
Master's Residence	James City County	
Date of Crime	1765/04/16	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Mill and Hen House of George Washington, Esqr. Bruton Parish	
Victim	George Washington, Esqr	
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and Arms the Mill House and Hen House of George Washington, Esqr....Feloniously did break and enter" 1 sack bag and one bushel of Indian meal valued at 4 s. 1 Iron Mill Peck valued at 5 s. 1 Coard and Twist of Tobacco valued at 1 s. from the mill and from the hen house Sundry dung hill fowls valued at 5 s. "then and there found feloniously did steal take and Carry away"(See Above)	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Sundry Witnesses were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Not Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Discharged	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town	Williamsburg	O (4)
	372-373	
Trial Date	1765/05/18	
Justices	Dudley Digges	
	John Prentis	
	Thomas Nelson	
	James Pride	
	Nicholas Dickson	
Slave	Sam	
	Charles	
	Tom	
Gender	Male	
	Male	
	Male	
Master	Sam: John Brown	
	Charles: James Carter Gent	
	Tom: William Wilkinson	
Master's Residence	John Brown; James City	
	James Carter Esqr; Williamsburg	
	William Wilkinson: James City	
Date of Crime	1765/04/21	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Dwelling House of Nathaniel Walthoe in	
	Bruton Parish	
Victim	Nathaniel Walthoe	
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and arms the dwelling	
	house of Nathaniel Walthoe,	
	Esqr....Feloniously and Burglariously did	
	break and enter"	
	1 pr. silk stockings valued at 30 s.	
	1 Frize coat valued at 30 s.	
	one Cloth Waistcoat valued at 30 s.	
	1 pr. of Velvet Breeches valued at 30 s.	
	Three hundred and fifty pounds Current	
	Money of this Colony in Treasury Bills	
	of the Goods and Chattels. "found then and	
	there feloniously did Steal take and carry	
	away. . ."	
Plea	Sam; Not Guilty	
	Charles; Not Guilty	
	Tom; Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Sundry Witnesses were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Sam; Guilty	
	Charles; Guilty	
	Tom; Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Sam; Hanged	
	Charles; Hanged	
	Tom; Hanged	
Date of Hanging	1765/05/18	
Value of Slave	Sam; £ 70	
	Charles; £ 70	
	Tom; £ 70	
Pardon		

Town		OB (1765-1768) 23
Trial Date	1765/09/25	
Justices	Armistead Lightfoot	
	William Allen	
	David Jameson	
	Nicolas Dickson	
Slave	Will	
Gender	Male	
Master	Edward Bowcock	
Master's Residence	York County	
Date of Crime	1765/06/29	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	dwelling House of Benjamin Eggleston	
	Planter, Parish of Bruton	
Victim	Benjamin Eggleston	
Crime Description	Theft; "Feloniously and Burglariously did break and enter."	
	one waistcoat and pair of breeches	
	valued at 20 s.	
	one counterpane valued at 20 s.	
	one pair of sheets valued at 20 s.	
	one shirt valued at 10 s.	
	one pair of shoes valued at 10 s.	
	one woman's Gown 20 s.	
	"feloniously did steal take and carry away"	
Plea	Guilty	
Witnesses		
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Hanged--"the said Will is remanded to God	
Date of Hanging	1765/10/18	
Value of Slave	£ 65	
Pardon	Pardoned; Governor Facquier	

Town		OB (1765-1768) 41
Trial Date	1765/11/09	
Justices	Dudley Digges, Jr. William Allen Thomas Nelson, Jr. David Jameson Nicholas Dickson	
Slave	George	
Gender	Male	
Master	Edward Digges, Esqr.	
Master's Residence		
Date of Crime	1765/10/27	
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Yorkhampton Parish	
Victim	Jacquelin Ambler Gent	
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and arms" four Table Cloths valued at 40 s. two towels valued at 10 s. two ironing cloths valued at 5 s. "there found feloniously did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Sundry Witnesses	
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Burnt in the Left Hand and Twenty Lashes well laid on	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		OB (1765-1768)
Trial Date	1766/03/12	
Justices	Dudley Digges Thomas Nelson, Junr. David Jameson Nickolas Dickson	
Slave	Sam Cornelius	
	Jack; the King's Attorney will not prosecute"	
Gender	Male Male Male	
Master	Sam; Estate of William Shelden Sclater Cornelius; Estate of Valentine Jenkins Jack; Seymour Powell	
Master's Residence		
Date of Crime	1766/03/05	
Time Crime Committe	10-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Warehouse of Seymour Powell, Yorkhampton Parish	
Victim	Seymour Powell	
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and arms . . . feloniously did break and enter" 20 gallons of rum valued at £ 5 20 gallons of brandy valued at £ 5 "feloniously did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Sam: Not Guilty Cornelius; Not Guilty Jack; Acquited and Discharged	
Witnesses	Sundry witnesses were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Sam; Not Guilty but misbehaved themselves Cornelius: Not Guilty but misbehaved themselves	
Plea Benefit of AA Punishment	Sam: thirty five lashes well laid on" Cornelius; thirty five lashes well laid on" Jack; thirty nine lashes	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town		OB (1765-1768) 46
Trial Date	1766/05/10	
Justices	Robert Shield Thomas Chisman James Pride Nickolas Dickson	
Slave	Matt	
Gender	Male	
Master	Thomas Smith	
Master's Residence	York County	
Date of Crime	1766/03/29	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Dwelling House of Anne Pacey, Yorkhampton Parish	
Victim	Anne Pacey	
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and arms . . . feloniously and burglariously did break and enter" one purse valued at 5 s. four pieces of gold coin valued at £ 5 ten peices of Silver valued at 20 s. "feloniously and burglariously did steal take and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Divers Witnesses were sworn and exmined	
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Hanged	
Date of Hanging	1766/05/23	
Value of Slave	£ 80	
Pardon	Pardoned; Governor Facquier	

Town		OB (1765-1768) 50
Trial Date	1766/05/19	
Justices	Robert Shield	
	David Jameson	
	James Pride	
	Nicholas Dickson	
Slave	Peter	
Gender	Male	
Master	Daniel Moore	
Master's Residence	York County	
Date of Crime	1766/05/10	
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Charles Parish	
Victim	Richard Sclater, Charles Parish	
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and arms"	
	one sheep valued at 20 s.	
	"did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Sundry Witnesses	
Verdict	Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA	Previously pleaded Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Hanged	
Date of Hanging	1766/05/13	
Value of Slave	£ 75	
Pardon		

Town		OB (1765-1768) 52
Trial Date	1766/06/02	
Justices	Dudley Digges William Allen Thomas Nelson Nicholas Dickson	
Slave	Will Ned Zacharias; "the King's attorney will not prosecute"	
Gender	Male Male Male	
Master	Will; Lewis Burwell, Junr. Ned; Lewis Burwell, Junr, Zacharias; Lewis Burwell, Junr	
Master's Residence	Gloucester County	
Date of Crime	1766/05/17	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Smoke-house of James Burwell Gent, Yorkhampton Parish	
Victim	James Burwell Gent	
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and arms". . .	
Plea	"feloniously did break and enter Bacon, 20 pieces valued at £ 10 "feloniously did take steal and carry away" Will; Not Guilty Ned; Not Guilty Zacharius; Acquited	
Witnesses	Divers Witnesses were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Will; Guilty Ned; Guilty Zacharias; Acquited and Discharged	
Plea Benefit of AA	Not within the Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Hanged	
Date of Hanging	1766/06/13	
Value of Slave	Will; £ 75 Ned; £ 75	
Pardon		

Town		OB (1765-1768) 74
Trial Date	1766/06/21	
Justices	Dudley Digges	
	David Jameson	
	James Pride	
	Nicholas Dickson	
Slave	Sam	
Gender	Dan	
	Male	
	Male	
Master	Sam; Warner Lewis Esqr	
	Dan; Thomas Whiting Esqr	
Master's Residence	Gloucester County	
	Gloucester County	
Date of Crime	1766/06/15	
Time Crime Committe		
Place of Crime	Dwelling House of Robert Presson, Charles Parish	
Victim	Robert Presson	
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and arms . . . feloniously did break and enter" blankets, 2 prs. valued at 20 s. 2 pairs of sheets valued at 20 s. one shift valued at 20 s. one shirt valued at 10 s. one pair of trowsers valued at 10 s. "feloniously did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Sam; Not Guilty	
	Dan; Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Divers Witnesses were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Sam, Not Guilty of the Felony but Guilty of Misdemeanor	
	Dan; Guilty	
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Sam; 39 lashes well laid on	
	Dan; Hanged	
Date of Hanging	1766/07/04	
Value of Slave	Dan; £ 75	
Pardon		

Town	OB (1765-1768) 181
Trial Date	1766/11/17
Justices	1766/05/19; Peter was convicted of a felony and a sentence of death was placed upon him Robert Shield David Jameson James Pride Nicholas Dickson
Slave	Peter
Gender	Male
Master	
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	
Crime Description	Escape from Gaol; "demanded of him whether he was the same Peter who was convicted of Felony before . . .and for which Sentence of death then passed on him and whether he now had any thing to say why the Sentence should not be executed"
Plea	"said that he was the same Peter and that he had nothing to say or plead"
Witnesses	
Verdict	
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	"Hanged between three and four in the afternoon of this day"
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	432-3	OB (1765-1768)
Trial Date	1768/02/12	
Justices	Robert Smith David Jameson Thomas Nelson Jaquelin Ambler	
Slave	Lewis	
Gender	Philip	
	Male	
Master	Male	
	Lewis; William Pearson	
Master's Residence	Philip; Estate of John Coke	
	York County	
	York County	
Date of Crime	1768/02/06	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	Dwelling House of Sarah Coke Widow, Bruton Parish	
Victim	Sarah Coke	
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and arms" . . . "feloniously and burglariously did break and enter" Ten Gallons of Spiritous Liquor valued at 50 s. Ten pounds of Soap valued at 10 s. one pot of Sweat Meats valued at 20 s. "feloniously and burglariously did take steal and carry away"	
Plea	Lewis; Not Guilty	
	Philip; Not Guilty	
Witnesses	Sundry Witnesses were sworn and examined	
Verdict	Philip: Not Guilty Lewis: Guilty of the Felony but Not Guilty of the Burglary"	
Plea Benefit of AA	Lewis; Pled Benefit of Act of Assembly	
Punishment	Lewis; ("Lewis is the greater offender) Burnt in the left hand and 15 lashes well laid on	
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town	460-1	OB (1765-1768)
Trial Date	1768/03/17	
Justices	Robert Smith Thomas Nelson Jaquelin Ambler Dudley Digges Matthew	
Slave	Mulatto Man Slave	
Gender		
Master	Thomas Smith	
Master's Residence	York County	
Date of Crime	1767/12/07	
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.	
Place of Crime	House of John Davie, Yorkhampton Parish	
Victim	John Davie	
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and arms" . . . Feloniously did break and enter" one yard of Cloth valued at 35 s. one and one half yard of Shallon valued at 6. s. one Scarlet Cloth Waistcoat valued at 40 s. one pair Scarlet Cloth breeches valued at 30 s. two pair Silk Stockings valued at 40 s. one pair of thread Stockings valued at 10 s. two shirts valued at 40 s. one pair Silk Stockings breeches valued at 15 s. one pair of shoes valued at 10 s. "feloniously did take Steal and carry away" Not Guilty divers Witnesses were sworn and examined Guilty	
Plea		
Witnesses		
Verdict		
Plea Benefit of AA		
Punishment	Hanged	
Date of Hanging	1768/03/17	
Value of Slave	£ 80	
Pardon		

Town	
Trial Date	1769/03/01
Justices	Robert Shield Robert Smith David Jameson Jacquelin Ambler
Slave	Paul Peter
Gender	Male Male
Master	Paul; John Chisman Peter; John Chisman
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	1769/02/19
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	Yorkhampton Parish
Victim	William Nelson, Esqr.
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and arms" one sheep valued at 15 s. "feloniously did take steal and carry away"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	divers Witnesses
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of AA
Punishment	Burnt in the Left Hand and 25 lashes well laid on
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town		
Trial Date		1769/10/11
Justices		Dudley Digges Thomas Nelson Junr David Jameson Jaquelin Ambler
Slave		Allaka
Gender		Male
Master		Benjamin Powell
Master's Residence		Williamsburg and Bruton Parish
Date of Crime		1769/09/27
Time Crime Committe		9-12 P.M.
Place of Crime		Smoke House of William Moody, Yorkhampton Parish
Victim		William Baker William Moody
Crime Description		Theft; "with force and arms feloniously did break and enter" one stone jug with five gallons of rum valued at 30 s. [torn] 20 s. "feloniously" did steal take and carry away"
Plea		Not Guilty
Witnesses		divers Witnesses
Verdict		Allaka; Guilty of the felony and Not Guilty of the Burglary
Plea Benefit of AA		Pled Benefit of AA
Punishment		Burnt in the Left Hand and twenty lashes well laid on
Date of Hanging		
Value of Slave		
Pardon		

Town	
Trial Date	1769/10/11
Justices	Dudley Digges Thomas Nelson, Junr David Jameson Jacquelin Ambler
Slave	Jack
Gender	Male
Master	Samuel Johnson
Master's Residence	Province of North Carolina
Date of Crime	Blank
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.
Place of Crime	Dwelling house of John Dunford, Yorkhampton Parish
Victim	John Dunford
Crime Description	Theft; "feloniously and burglariously did break and enter" one Mans Sushia Drab Coat valued at 30 s. one womans waistcoat and Petticoat valued at 20 s. two pounds of spun Cotton valued at 10 s. three pieces of Spanish called Silver Bitts valued at 1 s. 10 p. "feloniously did steal take and carry away"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	Divers Witnesses
Verdict	Not Guilty of felony and burglary BUT Jack is "Runaway from his said master who lives out of the Colony"
Plea Benefit of AA Punishment	Committed to the Gaol and Sherrif will advertise his committment
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1770/01/23
Justices	Dudley Digges Robert Shield Jaquelin Ambler Augustine Moore
Slave	Issac David
Gender	Male Male
Master	Issac; Catherine Hubbard, Williamsburg David; James Hubbard,
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	1770/01/09
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	Dwelling house of James Hubbard, York County
Victim	
Crime Description	Arson; Issac; "not having the fear of God before his eyes but being moved and seduced by the Devil" "with force and arms" "with force and arms feloniously did comfort aid abet assist Counsel hire and command the said Issac feloniously set on fire and burn the said House
Plea	Issac; Not Guilty David; Not Guilty
Witnesses	divers witnesses
Verdict	Issac; Guilty David; Not Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Issac; Hanged David; "acquitted and discharged of the felony, but on the motion of the said James Hubbard and it appearing to the Court that the said David is a dangerous Person he is committed to the Gaol of the County there to remain until he shall be thence discharged with the consent of his master and some Justice of the Peace"
Date of Hanging	1770/02/02
Value of Slave	Issac; £ 70
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1770/02/19
Justices	
Slave	Ben
Gender	Male
Master	Thomas Nelson, junr
Master's Residence	Yorktown
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	John Howard
Crime Description	Theft; "accused of stealing two Piggs"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	two Negro witnesses
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	25 lashes well laid on
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1770/04/28
Justices	Dudley Digges Thomas Nelson, Junr. William Digges, Junr. Jacquelin Ambler
Slave	Pant
Gender	Male
Master	William Potter
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	Night time
Place of Crime	House of Severinus Durfey
Victim	Severinus Durfey
Crime Description	Theft; "on suspicion of Feloniously breaking and Entering" "Stealing thereout a Quantity of Paper Money"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	Divers Witnesses
Verdict	Not Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Acquited
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1771/01/05
Justices	David Jameson Jacquelin Ambler William Digges, Jr. Augustine Moore
Slave	Scipio
	Lucy
Gender	Male
	Female
Master	Catherine Hubbard Catherine Hubbard
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	John Hyland
Crime Description	Theft; "on suspicion of Feloniously and Burglariously stealing" twenty pounds current money
Plea	Not Guilty Not Guilty
Witnesses	Divers witnesses
Verdict	Not Guilty Not Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Acquited Acquited
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1771/06/17
Justices	Dudley Digges Robert Shield Thomas Nelson David Jameson Jacquelin Ambler
Slave	Paul Joe
Gender	Male Male
Master	Paul; George Chaplin Joe; Samuel Meredith
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	1771/06/14
Time Crime Committe	Nighttime
Place of Crime	Warehouse of William Cary, Merchant, Yorkhampton Parish
Victim	William Cary
Crime Description	Theft; "felony and Burglary" [Torn] five Gallons of Rum loaves of Sugar Shallon 5 s. five pounds of Shag Tobacco 6 s. one piece of Woolen Cloth 20 s. two pieces of Duroy 1 4 "feloniously did take steal and carry away"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	Sundry Witnesses
Verdict	Paul; Guilty of the Felony and the Burglary Joe; Guilty of the Felony but Not Guilty of the Burglary
Plea Benefit of AA	Joe; pled Benefit of AA
Punishment	Paul; Hanged Joe; Burnt in the Left hand and 30 lashes
Date of Hanging	1771/07/06
Value of Slave	£ 85
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1771/11/18
Justices	
Slave	Peter
Gender	Male
Master	Robert Howard
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	John Chisman
Crime Description	Theft; "suspicion of stealing a Hog"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	Divers Witnesses
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	20 lashes
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1772/04/04
Justices	Robert Shield
	Jam []
	Anthony Robinson
	William Digges, Junr
	[] Moore
Slave	Moody
Gender	Male
Master	Elizabeth Mingham
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	Nighttime
Place of Crime	a House of his Excellencys of the Right
	Honoble John Earl of Dunmore
Victim	John Earl of Dunmore
Crime Description	Theft; "breaking and entering"
	"stealing"
	nineteen Turkies
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	Divers Witnesses
Verdict	Not Guilty of the Burglary but Guilty of
	Stealing
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of AA
Punishment	Nine Lashes
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1772/07/21
Justices	Dudley Digges Thomas Nelson, Junr. Starkey Robinson Augustine Moore Dudley Digges, Junr. Hugh Nelson John Dixon
Slave	Mingo
Gender	Male
Master	Benjamin Powell
Master's Residence	Bruton Parish
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	Palace Lands
Victim	the right Honourable John Earl of Dunmore
Crime Description	Theft; "suspicion of stealing a Sheep"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	divers Witnesses
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of AA
Punishment	Burnt in the Left Hand and twenty-five lashes
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1772/12/22
Justices	Dudley Digges Thomas Nelson, Junr Wm. Digges Junr John Dixon
Slave	Patrick Moody
Gender	Male Male
Master	Patrick; William Baptist Moody; Elizabeth Bingham
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	Nighttime
Place of Crime	House of Mary Potter
Victim	Mary Potter
Crime Description	Theft; "suspicion of Felony and Burglary in breaking and entering" "and stealing from thence [Torn]
Plea	Patrick; Not Guilty Moody; Not Guilty
Witnesses	divers Witnesses
Verdict	Patrick; Guilty of the Felony but not Guilty of the Burglary Moody; Not Guilty as in pleading but Guilty of a Misdemeanor
Plea Benefit of AA	Patrick pled Benefit of AA
Punishment	Patrick; burnt in the left hand and thirty-nine lashes Moody; thirty-nine lashes
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1773/01/18
Justices	Peyton Randolph Dudley Digges Thomas Nelson, Junr. Hugh Nelson
Slave	Sam
Gender	Male
Master	William Eggleston
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	Molly a Mulatto Woman Child under the age of ten Years
Crime Description	the property of George Pitt Rape; "suspicion of a Rape committed on the Body of Molly a Mulatto Woman Child under the age of ten Years the property of George Pitt"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	divers Witnesses
Verdict	Not Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Discharged
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1773/01/18
Justices	Peyton Randolph Duddley Digges Thomas Nelson, Junr. Hugh Nelson
Slave	Jack
Gender	Male
Master	John Murray
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	1773/01/08
Time Crime Committe	10-12 P.M.
Place of Crime	Kitchen of George Riddell, Yorkhampton Parish
Victim	George Riddell
Crime Description	Theft; "break and enter" one holland shirt valued at 20 s. one Waistcoat and one pair breeches valued at 20 s. "feloniously did Steal take and Carry away"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	sundry Witnesses
Verdict	Guilty of Felony and Burglary
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Hanged
Date of Hanging	1773/02/05
Value of Slave	£ 90
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1773/06/05
Justices	Dudley Digges John Blair Thomas Nelson Junr. John Dixon
Slave	Fanny
Gender	Female
Master	Richard Charlton
Master's Residence	Williamsburg
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	John Donaldson
Crime Description	Murder; "suspicion of the Murder of John Donaldson"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	divers Witnesses
Verdict	Guilty of Manslaughter
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Hanged
Date of Hanging	1773/06/13
Value of Slave	£ 90
Pardon	"the Whole Court recommended to the Governor as a proper Object of Mercy"

Town	
Trial Date	1773/08/30
Justices	Dudley Digges David Jameson Williams Digges, Junr. John Dixon
Slave	Moody
Gender	Male
Master	Elizabeth Mongham
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	Jack a Negro Slave belonging to the Vineyard under the direction of Andrew Estave
Crime Description	Mutilation; "suspicion of feloniously M[aitu]ming by putting out the left eye of Jack a Negro Slave"
Plea	[torn]
Witnesses	sundry Witnesses
Verdict	Not Guilty of willfully and on purpose putting out the Eye of the said Jack" Acquitted. "But is appearing that the said Moody hath great mesbehaved himself in this matter"
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Thirty nine lashes
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1774/09/15
Justices	Dudley Digges Jaquelin Ambler Hugh Nelson John Dixon Joseph Hornsby
Slave	Ned
Gender	Male
Master	John Randolph, Esqr
Master's Residence	Williamsburg
Date of Crime	1773/10/30
Time Crime Committe	9-12 P.M.
Place of Crime	dwelling house of Christana Campbell widow, Bruton Parish
Victim	Simon Fraiser, Merchant Bennett Brown, Merchant
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and arms" "did break and enter" two Trunks valued at 20 s. nine shirts valued at £ 9 six pair of Stockings valued at £ 3 six handkerchiefs valued at 20 s. sundry pieces of cut Silver valued at £ 12.10 of the goods and chattels of Simon Fraiser nine shirts valued at £ 9 six pair stockings valued at £ 3 six handkerchiefs valued at 20 s. of the goods and chattels of Bennett Brown merchant "feloniously and burglariously did take Steal and Carry away"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	sundry Witnesses
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Hanged
Date of Hanging	1774/11/29
Value of Slave	£ 80
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1774/03/08
Justices	Dudley Digges Thomas Nelson, Jr. David Jameson Jaquelin Ambler William Reynolds
Slave	Hannibal
Gender	Male
Master	James Shields
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	1774/02/13
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	Bruton Parish
Victim	Right Honourable John Earl of Dunmore
Crime Description	Theft; w/force and arms eight Turkies valued at 25 s. "found feloniously did take steal and carry away"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	divers Witnesses
Verdict	Guilty "the said Hannibal was at a ct of Oyer & Terminer held in James City Cnty the 4th day of Dec. last convicted of felony and burnt in the hand for the same. . . he is now denied the benefit of the act"
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Hanged
Date of Hanging	1774/03/22
Value of Slave	£ 75
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1774/11/21
Justices	Dudley Digges Thomas Nelson Junr Hugh Nelson William Reynolds
Slave	Ben
Gender	Male
Master	John Toomer
Master's Residence	York County
Date of Crime	1774/10/07
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	Tan Vat of Thomas Pescod, Yorkhampton
Victim	Thomas Pescod
Crime Description	Theft; "with Force and Arms" Six Sides and two Skins of Leather valued at 50 s. "feloniously did steal take and carry away"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	divers Witnesses
Verdict	Not Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Discharged
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1775/03/29
Justices	David Jameson Jaquelin Ambler Joseph Hornsby William Reynolds
Slave	Ned
Gender	Male
Master	Elizabeth Davis orphan of John Davis decd
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	1775/02/20
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	Bruton Parish
Victim	William Rose
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and arms" two Turkies 5 s. "there found feloniously did take steal and carry away"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	divers Witnesses
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of AA
Punishment	Burnt in the hand
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1775/06/29
Justices	David Jameson William Nelson Satrkey Robinson Hugh Nelson
Slave	Peter Paul
Gender	Male Male
Master	John Chisman John Chisman
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	William Smith
Crime Description	Theft; "suspicion of stealing a calf"
Plea	Peter; Not Guilty Paul; Not Guilty
Witnesses	sundry witnesses
Verdict	Peter; Not Guilty Paul; Not Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Acquited and Discharged
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	1776/08/19
Trial Date	David Jameson
Justices	Starkey Robinson
	William Digges, Junr
	Augustine Moore
	William Reynolds
Slave	James
Gender	Male
Master	John Mayo
Master's Residence	Cumberland County
Date of Crime	1776/08/13
Time Crime Committe	10-12 P.M.
Place of Crime	Dwelling House of Serafino Formicola, Bruton Parish
Victim	Serafino Formicola
Crime Description	Theft; "feloniously and burglariously did break and enter"
	one guinea 26 s.
	three golden rings 60 s.
	"felonioulsy and burglariously did steal take and carry away"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	divers witnesses
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Hanged
Date of Hanging	1776/09/20
	"the Gaol of the County being insufficient the said James is remanded to the kkeeper of the Public Gaol of Williamsburg there to be safely until the time of his execution aforesaid."
Value of Slave	£ 55
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1776/10/21
Justices	David Jameson Satrkey Robinson William Graves William Digges Junr Augustine Moore William Reynolds
Slave	James
Gender	Male
Master	John Mayo
Master's Residence	Cumberland County
Date of Crime	1776/09/19
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	Public Gaol
Victim	
Crime Description	Escape from gaol; "Convicted of Felony and Burglary"--the 19th day of August last past for which Sentence of death was pronounced against him" "the said James before the day appointed as aforesaid for the said Execution of the said Sentence had Escaped out of the Public Gaol." Guilty--he said he was the same person
Plea	Guilty
Witnesses	
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Hanged
Date of Hanging	"second Friday after the next County Court"
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1776/11/18
Justices	David Jameson Starkey Robinson Augustine Moore William Reynolds
Slave	Frank
Gender	Male
Master	James Brown
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	
Crime Description	"suspicion of felony"
Plea	
Witnesses	
Verdict	
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Discharged out of Custody and delivered to his master
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1777/02/17
Justices	Thomas Nelson Junr Starkey Robeinson William Digges Junr John Dixon William Reynolds Robert Prentis
Slave	Jmaes
Gender	Male
Master	John Mayo
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	
Crime Description	
Plea	
Witnesses	
Verdict	
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	"caried to the usual place of Execution near the City of Williamsburg on Friday the 21st day of the Instant February there to be hanged by the Neck until he be dead in pursuance of a Judgement passed on him . . . the 19th day of August 1776 for felony and burglary by him committed and of which he stands convicted"
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1777/08/18
Justices	Starkey Robinson Augustine Moore William Digges Junr Lawrence Smith Joseph Prentis Beverly Dickson
Slave	Lewis
Gender	Male
Master	Simon Hollier
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	Thomas Archer
Crime Description	Theft; "Suspicion of stealing £ 6. 14. 0 Current Money"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	divers Witenesses
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of AA
Punishment	Burnt in the hand and 25 lashes
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1779/11/15
Justices	Thoams Nelson Sattrkey Robinson Augustine Moore John Robinson William Reynolds
Slave	Emanuel
Gender	Male
Master	John Draper
Master's Residence	Bruton Parish
Date of Crime	November
Time Crime Committe	2-3 A.M.
Place of Crime	Storehouse of William Goodson, Bruton Parish
Victim	William Goodson
Crime Description	Theft; "with force and arms" "feloniously and burglariously did break and enter" one piece of black Alamede £ 1400 One piece of Marseilles Quilting £ 600 four pieces of Chex £ 500 Eleven pair of Leather Breeches £ 400 "did steal trake and carry away"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	divers Witnesses
Verdict	Guilty of the Felony but Not Guilty of the Burglary
Plea Benefit of AA	Pled Benefit of Clergy
Punishment	Burnt in the left hand and 39 lashes
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1780/02/21
Justices	William Digges Junr Augustine Moore William Pasteur Benjamin Powell
Slave	Adonis
Gender	Male
Master	Peter Moyer
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	
Place of Crime	
Victim	
Crime Description	Felony and Burglary
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	divers Witnesses
Verdict	Not Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Acquited and Discahrged
Date of Hanging	
Value of Slave	
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1780/04/17
Justices	Thomas Nelson Starkey Robinson Augustine Moore John Robinson Merritt Moore William Pasteur Benjamin Powell
Slave	Hannibal
Gender	Tom
	Male
	Male
Master	James Shields James Shields
Master's Residence	York County
Date of Crime	1780/04/17
Time Crime Committe	Nighttime
Place of Crime	Storehouse of William Goodson
Victim	William Goodson
Crime Description	Theft; "suspicion of breaking and entering" "stealing thereout sundry Goods"
Plea	Hannibal; Not Guilty Tom; Not Guilty
Witnesses	divers Witnesses
Verdict	Hannibal; Guilty Tom; Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA Punishment	Hannibal; Hanged Tom; Hanged
Date of Hanging	1780/04/25
Value of Slave	Hannibal; £ 4000 Tom; £ 4,000
Pardon	

Town	
Trial Date	1780/05/23
Justices	Thomas Nelson William Digges Junr Augustine Moore John Robinson William Pasteur Ben/Ben Bacon
Slave	
Gender	Male
Master	Howard Pool
Master's Residence	
Date of Crime	
Time Crime Committe	Nighttime
Place of Crime	Dwelling house of John Shephard, York County
Victim	John Shephard
Crime Description	Theft; "suspicion of breaking and entering" "Stealing thereout sundry goods"
Plea	Not Guilty
Witnesses	divers Witnesses
Verdict	Guilty
Plea Benefit of AA	
Punishment	Hanged
Date of Hanging	1780/06/02
Value of Slave	£ 4000
Pardon	

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